THE SECOND FRONT PACTS: TURNING POINT IN HISTORY

In this issue: *Lion Feuchtwanger, Wendell Willkie, The Dean of Canterbury, Reid Robinson, A. F. Whitney, Rep. A. J. Sabath, Stanley M. Isaacs, Max Yergan, Pearl Buck, Corliss Lamont, Max Lerner, and others.*

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

TO THE many who will be reading NM for the first time we should like to say that this is a special issue. But it's "special" only in the sense that it deals with a single topic—our fighting ally, the Soviet Union. And the occasion is one year since Hitler attacked it to his eternal regret. *Every* issue of NM is special—in another sense. It is special in the sense that it has a consistent point of view and presents it through a staff of writers who are known throughout America.

Every week NEW MASSES presents:

Front Lines: A full military analysis of the week on the battle lines, by Colonel T.

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Books and People: The eminent critic Samuel Sillen follows the literary trend that parallels the trend of world events.

Sights and Sounds: A guide to the films, the theater, music, and the arts—by Joy Davidman, Alvah Bessie, and others.

RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF WEEK: From June 22, the anniversary of the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, through June 27, the whole country will commemorate the valiant struggle of our great ally. Every patriotic American will join enthusiastically in commemorating the battle of the Soviet people, in raising funds for medical and food supplies for the people who scorched the earth in the path of the invader.

R. PALME DUTT'S article, scheduled for this issue, was delayed in cable transmission. It will appear in the next issue.

NM is grateful to Russian War Relief as well as to the American Council on Soviet Relations for some of the illustrative material in this issue.

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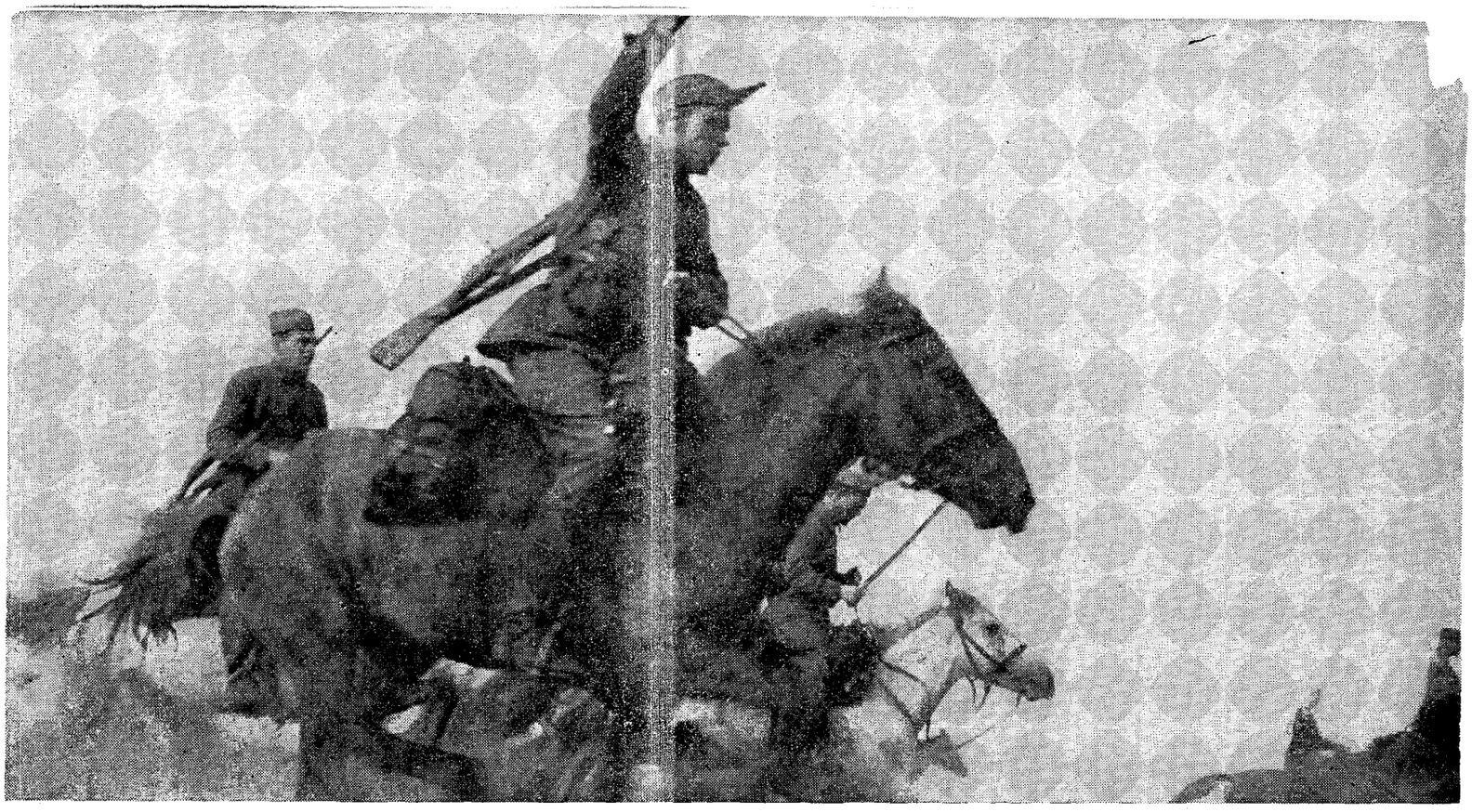

HORSEMEN OF THE DON: The famous Cossacks whose great cavalry units have driven terror to the heart of the Wehrmacht.

THE OFFENSIVE SPIRIT

After six months of methodical retreat—a retreat that was at all times orderly and controlled and inflicted crushing blows upon the advancing Nazis—the Red Army regrouped its forces and struck back. Remember when this happened—it was in December of last year. Up against a wall of steel, alarmed by the brilliant winter offensive of the Red Army, Hitler called on his Japanese ally to strike at America. Japan struck—on Dec. 7, 1941. The strategy was obvious—to divert America's attention from the Nazi-Soviet front; more importantly, to divert America's lend-lease supplies from the Soviet Union. Both diversionary attempts failed. America struck back at Japan; America continued to send supplies to her Russian ally —supplies that Premier Stalin said had helped materially in the great winter offensive that recaptured a third of the occupied Soviet territory. On land, from the sea, and in the air, the Red Army rolled forward over its 2,000 mile front lines. The Cossacks of the Don demonstrated that the flesh-and-blood horse was still effective against the mechanized units of the enemy. The famous Red sailors of the Baltic Fleet—who had played so brilliant a role during the Revolution of 1917 and the intervention that followed it—landed behind the Nazi lines in the Baltic. Camouflaged infantrymen with light machine guns pushed the Nazis back from Moscow, from Leningrad, recapturing Mozhaisk, the Valdai hills, Rostov. Today the land offensive of the Soviets threatens Orel, Bryansk, Rzhev, Vyazma, Kursk, and Kharkov. 1942 must be the year of victory!

THE BALTIC: The date, September 1941. The fighting seamen of the Red Baltic Fleet came ashore to occupy an island strongly held by the enemy.

MOZHAISK: Red Army men take the offensive against the famous monastery town. Light machine-gun squad advancing over difficult terrain.

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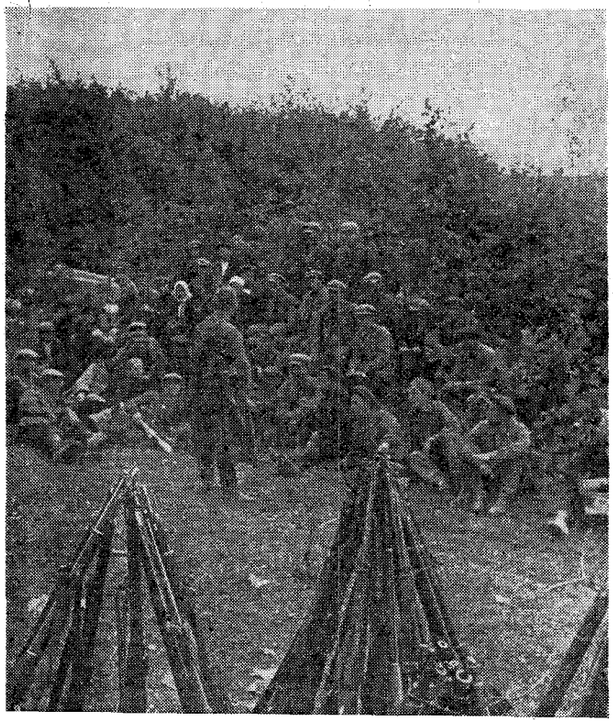
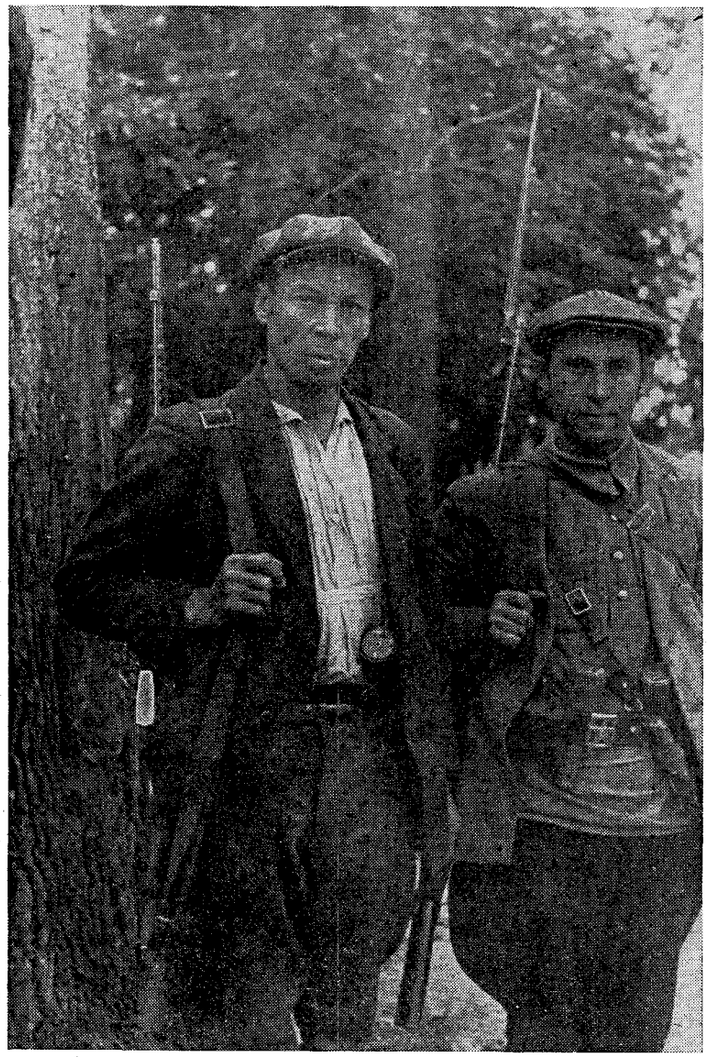


BEHIND THE NAZI LINES: The commander of a partisan band outlines a night attack to men and women of his command.

"I, A RED GUERRILLA, swear to my comrades in arms that I shall be brave, disciplined . . . merciless to the enemy . . ." This is part of the oath taken by all partisans.



TOUGH HOMBRES: These two guerrilla fighters belong to a unit that operates behind the Nazi lines in the north. Notice the hand grenades in their belts.

"SURROUNDED"

REMEMBER the early days of the Nazi attack? Remember the Nazi communiques that told us how the Wehrmacht had "bypassed" large elements of the Red Army, "surrounded" them, and was "systematically annihilating them"? Well, we know now that these troops were not bypassed; they were deliberately left behind! We know now that they consist of regular army units, augmented by the magnificent partisan fighters of the rear—recruited from the civilian population, the collective farms, the villages. The Soviet Union has elevated the business of guerrilla warfare to an art—and a science. The guerrilla unit is an autonomous body of troops—men, women, and sometimes children—who work independently in the rear of the enemy, and maintain contact with the main body of the Red Army by the most modern means of communication.

By day they lie in hiding in the hills and forests; at night they emerge to carry out their tactical plans—plans intimately geared with the necessities of the main front. They blow up bridges and railroad lines; they cut down telephone poles and snip the wires of the Nazi communication system. They attack small bodies of the invading troops, capture their men, and appropriate their materiel.

"We are like the stars in the sky," said one guerrilla fighter. "No one can count us, and no one can reach us." Their heroism —the heroism of the girl Tanya—is legendary; but they are very ordinary men and women—and children. They are fighting for their fatherland, for its socialist institutions, for their homes. They know the issues, and like their comrades in the regular army and the rear, they are implementing La Pasionaria's famous words: "It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees." Here you see the faces of these people—strong faces, determined faces, faces that tell the story of the Soviet resistance in terms we can readily recognize.

"You can hang me now," said Tanya, the girl guerrilla, to her Nazi tormentors, "but I am not alone. There are 200,000,000 of us. I shall be avenged. German soldiers! Surrender before it is too late. Victory will be ours!"

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IN THE NORTH: Look at the laughing faces of these men and women digging trenches on the besieged Leningrad battlefront.

IN THE SOUTH: A detachment of the Popular Guard rides forth to the defense of Odessa. Many of these people died before the city was finally captured last year.

CIVILIAN DEFENSE

For twenty years the average Soviet civilian had been expecting the war that finally came upon him. Consonant with this realistic picture of the world has been the understanding that, "if war should come tomorrow," the civilian would be ready for it. The civilian defense organizations of the Soviet people are many, and have an enormous enrollment. The citizen-soldier of the USSR has been trained—not only to put out incendiary bombs—but to kill the soldiers of the fascist enemy. His trade unions, social, and cultural organizations, have provided the training that will bring victory. Sharp-shooting, parachute jumping, machine-gun practice, liaison work, scouting and patrolling, individual combat, signaling, and first aid are only part of his curriculum. In learning these crafts he is integrated closely with his son, his mother, his relative in the Red Army, who goes on training maneuvers with him. Front and rear are one in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The unity of front and rear means victory in 1942!

PEOPLE IN ARMS: The Soviet civilian learns from his soldiers how to conduct himself in hand-to-hand combat.

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COMRADES IN FLYING TOGS: Pilots of the two RAF's, Royal and Red, compare notes at a northern airfield. Captain Safonov is at the right.

PREMIER STALIN AND HARRY HOPKINS: Representatives of two of the mightiest powers in the world today meet in Moscow—August 1941.

UNITED NATIONS

THE pattern for victory against fascism was established during the gallant fight the people of republican Spain put up against the fascist invasion in 1936-39. To the banners of the republic there rallied volunteer soldiers from fifty-four nations. The soldiers of the International Brigade were the symbols of the United Nations of 1942. Where the IB's came, secretively and many times illegally, to Spain to fight for democracy—the men of the United Nations now gather in the broad light of day. On the Soviet front there are British pilots and US planes. Behind the lines the Poles are training to relieve their Russian comrades. In China American "Flying Tiger" pilots are, individually, a match for thirty pilots of the so-called Rising Sun. There are Americans in England, and Britishers learning to fly in the American South. There are Australians, Canadians, Dutch, Americans, Norwegians, Free French, and Polish soldiers everywhere. On the seas mixed crews of many nationalities carry the goods to the battlefronts. With the Allies are the subjugated nations of the European continent—awaiting only the signal for their liberation that will come when the second front flares into action on the western coast of Europe.

NATIONS UNITED: Pres. Kalinin (center) receives Gen. Sikorski of Poland (second from left). Gen. Anders (right) commands Polish forces in USSR.

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NEW MASSES
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TURNING POINT IN WORLD HISTORY:

The Second Front Agreements

ONE year after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union the end of his nine-year career of conquest and enslavement is in sight. The catastrophe which he visited on his own people and on so many others now moves upon him and his regime. Out of their separate weakness Hitler's victims have wrought their united strength, and out of this strength is being forged victory.

One year after Hitler launched his "crusade against Bolshevism," the two foremost capitalist powers, the United States and Great Britain, have bound themselves more closely with socialist Russia for war and for peace in the epochal agreements negotiated by Foreign Commissar Molotov. For the peoples of the world these agreements constitute a consolidation of their forces and a new advance on the road to victory. For the fascist Axis the agreements represent a diplomatic and political Waterloo of the first magnitude, whose effects are bound to be felt in the military sphere. It remains now only to implement this with action by opening a Western Front in 1942 that can smash the Nazi military machine and assure victory for the United Nations in Europe and Asia. The agreements also require implementation in another way. American trade unionists must ask: if our government so warmly shakes the hand of our great Soviet ally, why do the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, under the influence of certain reactionaries, still refuse to cooperate with the Soviet trade unions, as the British unions are doing and as the CIO has urged?

LET us consider the Anglo-Russian treaty. The first article reaffirms the essentials of the pledge of mutual aid against Germany contained in last year's agreement, with the addition of "all those states which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe." The second article, however, goes beyond last year's commitment not to conclude a separate armistice or peace; it binds both parties "not to enter into any negotiations with the Hitlerite government or any government in Germany that does not clearly renounce all aggression intentions." This implies that the future government of Germany must be not only free of Nazis, but of any fascist substitutes for the Nazis. The rest of the treaty is concerned with the postwar era, expressing the desire "to unite with other like-minded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the postwar period." Pending the adoption of a broader system of world security, the treaty is to continue for twenty years.

The sections that deal with relations after the war are a most significant new feature. For Britain and the Soviet Union conceive their alliance not as a temporary expedient imposed by the exigencies of war, but as a solid cornerstone of the peace and of the new world that will emerge from the peace. Here in the Soviet-British treaty, in the agreements just concluded between the United States and Russia, and in the compact among all the United Nations is the nucleus of that universal brotherhood that President Roosevelt spoke about in his address on Flag Day. And the first and most urgent of the facts and deeds that can give flesh and blood to this brotherhood is the military destruction of Nazism through decisive action in the west and east of Europe this year.

THIS is why the official statement that "full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942," is of such crucial importance. Though the end of Hitler and Hitlerism and of his Japanese ally is in sight, that end is not yet *assured* and cannot be assured until the Nazi armies suffer crushing military defeat. The exceptionally favorable opportunity to accomplish this within the next weeks and months, while the bulk of Hitler's troops are tied up in Russia, must be grasped if we are not to run the risk that Hitler may yet succeed in averting the doom we are preparing for him.

The Washington-London-Moscow agreements have been enthusiastically greeted by the peoples of the United States, Britain and Russia and by the peoples of the other countries fighting the fascist plague (not least, we can be sure, by those under Nazi or Japanese domination). The majority of the press have also expressed their warm approval. A few newspapers, however, have indulged in irresponsible gossip and specious interpretations. Were this confined to the appeasement press, it might be dismissed as something that was to have been expected. But the fact is that some newspapers and commentators that support the war have also permitted themselves to become sounding boards for anonymous stories supposedly emanating from London and Washington that reflect not only on our Russian ally, but on President Roosevelt and the British government. It need hardly be pointed out that Soviet Russia is not a new convert to the doctrine of self-determination as enunciated in the Atlantic Charter, that in the early years of this century Lenin and Stalin were already fighting for the right of all nations freely to determine their destiny, and that this is one of the cardinal principles of the great family of nations that is the USSR. The speculations of a few writers and newspapers concerning what went on behind the scenes and their effort to decide in advance that certain territory should not be part of the Soviet Union after the war is unworthy of the best traditions of the press, unworthy of this great liberation war, unworthy of the historic agreements reached in Washington and London. And this kind of discreditable journalism-as-usual only helps the enemies of America and the United Nations.

No less unworthy are some of the comments on the agreement regarding the second front. The NY *Sun* reduces the whole business to a horse-trade, a *quid pro quo* in return for alleged Russian abandonment of alleged demands in regard to the Baltic states. As if the opening of a Western Front were a purely Russian affair! As if the thousands of American soldiers in northern Ireland were there in the interests of another country and not of the United States!

OTHER comments would lead one to believe that the highest officials of the American and British governments had their tongues in their cheeks when they gave the second front pledge. A United Press dispatch from London quoted "informed quarters" to the effect that a Western Front this year was "fantastic." And Raymond Daniell, New York *Times* London correspondent, seems to have become a specialist in anti-Western Front propaganda. On the other hand, James B. Reston, writing in the *Times* from Washington last Sunday, reveals that "the British alone have gathered together enough materiel in the United Kingdom and they have enough troops there to enable them to gamble on a full-dress invasion at any time that events encourage or demand it." Add to the British troops and materiel those from America, and it is clear that there is ample confirmation of what NEW MASSES has insisted on for weeks: that *it is possible to open a Western Front now.*

The pledge regarding a Western Front, the new US-Soviet lease-lend agreement, and the Anglo-Soviet mutual assistance pact are not lawyers' briefs for the purpose of enabling clients to evade responsibility, but great political and moral acts of faith—faith of the three leading powers of the United Nations in each other, faith in the millions of plain people united in this titanic struggle, faith in the victory and in the peace. We the people of America must do our part to keep faith with our brothers everywhere who fight with us for a great future.

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THE NEXT STEP

The recent meeting of the CIO executive board adopted a resolution urging cooperation of the trade union movements of the United States, Britain, Soviet Russia, and Latin America. The AFL Executive Council, however, despite the personal appeal made by Sir Walter Citrine, leader of the British unions, rejected a proposal for collaboration with the Soviet trade unions. This was largely due to the influence of America Firster William Hutcheson, head of the Carpenters' Union, and of Matthew Woll, who has been a professional anti-Sovieteer for years. The sentiment of the rank and file of American labor, whether in the CIO, the AFL, or the railroad brotherhoods, is eloquently expressed in the telegram published below from Reid Robinson, president of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and vice-president of the CIO.

Reid Robinson

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ANGLO- SOVIET- AMERICAN TRADE UNION UNITY IS A LOGICAL EXTENSION OF THE UNITY OF GOVERNMENTS AND ARMED FORCES, THE VERY TERM, UNITED NATIONS, MUST MEAN THAT ALL SECTIONS OF THESE NATIONS ARE UNITED, INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF LABOR LONG HAS BEEN THE DESIRE AND GOAL OF MILITANTAND PROGRESSIVE WORKERS, TODAY THIS INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CAN BECOME A REALITY- A POWERFUL WEAPON AGAINST FACISM AND SLAVERY, CERTAINLY WE MEMBERS OF THE WORKING CLASS IN AMERICA ARE FIGHTING THE SAME CAUSE AS THE TRADE UNIONISTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND BRITAIN, CERTAINLY UNITY OF THESE GREAT LABOR MOVEMENTS WILL CONTRIBUTE IMMEASURABLY TO THE DOWNFALL OF HITELERISM, CERTAINLY IF THIS IS A PEOPLES WAR, AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY THEN THE LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE , THE ORGANIZED WORKERS, MUST PRESENT A SOLID FRONT, AND THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION BUT THAT ANGLO SOVIET - AMERICAN LABOR UNITY IS ONE MOR STEP TOWARDS GUARANTEEING A WESTERN FRONT, IN THE LIGHT OF ROOSEVELT- MOLOTOV-EDEN AGREEMENTS, INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY IS GIVEN MORE IMPORTANCE THAN EVER.=

REID ROBINSON PRESIDENT INTL UNION OF MINE,
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Our Soviet Ally

STATEMENTS TO NEW MASSES FROM PROMINENT AMERICANS

Wendell Willkie

THE gallant and determined stand of the Russian people against the supposedly invincible forces of Hitler will undoubtedly rank as one of the most magnificent episodes in this critical period of world history. Fighting doggedly every foot of the way, the Russian army was at first driven steadily back and the calamity-howlers were ready to throw in the towel and to chalk up another victory for the totalitarian aggressors. But they didn't take into account the spirit of the Russian people. The Russian army not only stood fast but began to push back. For the first time Hitler saw his mechanized might overpowered and his legions forced back.

But as inspiring as have been the exploits of the Russian army, we can't forget the equally courageous fight the civilian population of Russia has made and is making for their homeland. Refusing to admit defeat, civilians left behind in enemy-held territory took to guerrilla warfare, slashing at the invaders from the rear.

It is a heartening and soul-stirring fight the Russian army and the Russian people are making. It is a fight that has brought hope and renewed determination to the foes of Hitler throughout the world.

Pearl Buck

THE Russian people in this war for freedom are setting an example for all of us because they are fighting as a united people without prejudice of race. As an American this means more to me than anything else.

A. F. Whitney

(President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen)

IN RESPONSE to your telegraphic request of June 10, I am pleased to offer the following statement on Anglo-Soviet-American trade union unity:

Gen. Douglas MacArthur referred to American labor as the "indestructible backbone" of the war effort. If it is true of labor in the United States, undoubtedly it is true also of labor in Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

Never in history has war placed such great responsibilities upon organized labor. Because of its record as the most consistent and best organized anti-fascist force in society, labor's role in this people's war of liberation is a leading one. In all three countries the workers are breaking records on the production lines; annihilating distance in rail, sea, and air transportation; supplying the various fighting fronts with well trained, well armed soldiers, sailors, marines, and flyers; and protecting the home fronts as well.

It goes without saying that the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance for the destruction of Hitlerism and the Axis Powers, aided by the rest of the United Nations, would derive additional strength if the Anglo-Soviet trade union pact should become an Anglo-Soviet-American trade union compact sealed in blood, sweat, and toil.

Abraham Lincoln declared: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindreds."

The sooner we cement this bond, the sooner will we achieve victory and arrive at what Vice-President Wallace has so aptly called "the century of the common man."

Max Lerner

THE Russian armies need no garland of dry leaves from any of us. But we would as Americans be less than human if we did not express the impulse to celebrate their deeds in the unremitting war against barbarism. May I add that the postwar world will be one worth living in if the American, British, Russian, and Chinese peoples apply in common the heroism of will and conviction that they have shown thus far in the war.

Stanley M. Isaacs

(Councilman, New York City)

EVERY American who loves liberty, every American who knows that fascism must be destroyed, cannot fail to recognize that both England and America today are profoundly indebted to the gallant Russian army. Thanks to the magnificent Russian defensive of last summer and fall, thanks to the vigorous attack against Hitler's forces which followed, we have been given time to prepare, to train and mass our own forces, to build the factories that will in turn build ships, planes, tanks, and guns so that Hitler will be overwhelmed.

We needed time and Russia gave us time. This war will be won because of the heroic stand of the Slavs of Russia and of the gallant Chinese, as well as through the determined resistance of Great Britain, and the decisive forces which America is now mobilizing. The peace to come must be a peace in the framing of which all the democratic nations of the world will participate; it must be based on a genuine democratic concept so that liberty may be preserved and security established for generations to come.

Max Yergan

(Executive Director, Council on African Affairs)

THE people of the Soviet Union, with their magnificent fighting forces, stopped and hurled back Hitler. Now, with their allies, they are proceeding to crush him and his fascist cohorts forever. The guarantee of this complete victory is the agreement just reached by the American, Soviet, and British governments on an immediate second front.

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In hailing this agreement, we pay another tribute to the inestimable service the Soviet Union has rendered mankind and the cause of human freedom. Men the world over may now look to a future free of fascist beasts and terror, proud in the new unity of will, purpose, and effort for a more glorious future for the human race.

Negro people have every reason to rejoice in the achievement of the Soviet people, their heroic army, and in the new American-Soviet-British agreement. Out of czarist bondage, poverty, and illiteracy, a great people have arisen and are now in the forefront of the forces for human dignity, progress, and happiness. It is the Soviet people who have solved the national question, that is to say, the racial question. That is one of the world's greatest achievements.

We Negroes, with all Americans, rejoice to see democracy in our country allied with the great forces for democracy in the Soviet Union and in Britain. This war against fascism is truly the war of the Negro people. Let us unite with all to fight it through and thereby fight most effectively for our best future.

Rep. A. J. Sabath, Ill.

THE heroic achievements of the Russian Army make it evident to me that I was right when I was advocating friendly relations with the Russian people, even when their great leader Stalin temporarily cooperated with Germany, but only to gain more strategical positions against Hitler, and to gain time, which was apparent to me.

I was certain that the Russians would never join the Nazis, nor succumb to fascist philosophy.

Although the fascist press continuously attacks Stalin, for eliminating the old generals, the young generals and the Red Army have proven to the world that they can defend Russian democracy.

Notwithstanding the charges by the capitalist press that the Soviet government would not have the support of the Russian people, the achievements of the Russian army make it clear that the Russian people are fighting as united equals with greater efficiency, courage, and determination than the driven Germans, because the Russians are fighting for freedom.

God only knows how desperate would have been America's situation, if the Russian people had not taken up the fight for freedom, and had not fought so heroically, and had Hitler defeated Russia and joined up with Japan.

An Interview with William L. Batt

Washington.

William L. Batt

THE New Social Security Building, with its murals on either side of the long halls, with its hundreds of visitors and hundreds of workers, houses most of the heads of War Production Board and Office of Production Administration. In one wing on the fifth floor works Donald Nelson; down a long corridor on the same floor is the office of William L. Batt, chief of the Requirements Division, WPB.

Mr. Batt is a very busy man. He sat behind a huge mahogany desk. He is broad-shouldered, dark, and heavy-set. Throughout the brief interview he talked hurriedly, glancing at the clock on the wall behind me every few moments.

William Batt, now in his late forties, came to Washington from the SKF ball-bearing company, of which he was president. He had the reputation—and he has proved it here—of being one of the most competent production men in the country.

Last year Mr. Batt visited the Soviet Union with other lend-lease officials. He returned to Washington enthusiastic. He spoke to meetings, he spoke on the radio, he spoke to his staff off-the-record, and he emphasized two points: The USSR understood production and it was putting up a magnificent fight. He reached an important stratum with his information—dollar-a-year men, big business leaders, officials.

He said this many times. He had the WPB show the film *Our Russian Front* to other officials and government people. The movie, and Ambassador Davies' book, and a few things Harry Hopkins said, but most of all, William Batt's account of what he saw, had a profound effect on Washington's thinking.

I sat across from Mr. Batt. The first question concerned Soviet production. Mr. Batt shrugged. "No American today is in any position to express an opinion on Russian production or on their capacity. We can only draw certain conclusions on what they have done. And this shows that during the past few years they have built up an amazing capacity. More startling, however, than the great quantity is the far more remarkable quality of this production." He puffed at his cigar. "But of course we can't begin to guess how far this production will take the Russians."

When it came to getting supplies through, Mr. Batt frankly admitted difficulties. "The whole problem of supplying the Soviet Union is complicated by the difficulties of shipping the stuff once we have it, and the allocation of critical materials out of supplies on hand. We haven't enough—and we have our own armed forces to supply and those of all the United Nations. Here in this country we must think of ourselves too—we can't interfere with our own war effort. But stuff is going and the Russians have expressed satisfaction."

I asked Mr. Batt what the Soviets could learn from us and what we could learn from them. He thought a moment and then remarked laughingly that he had been in the Soviet Union quite a few months ago. "But," he said, "the Russians have certainly learned a great deal from us. We have made available to them complete access to our manufacturing methods. They are receiving the cream of our accumulated knowledge in the form of the latest type of machinery produced in this country. As to what we can learn from them—they know how to make war, that's pretty clear, and we can study some of their achievements. They quite evidently are excellent in their ability to tie in the centers of production with the front line, of streamlining the flow of production from the factory to the consumption end at the field of battle."

"And, Mr. Batt, in your opinion could collaboration to win the war be augmented between our country and the Russians?"

"Well," he said, "I suppose as the Russians send more and more of their experts here, there will be an enlarged opportunity to learn from them and they from us. We would like to send more and more of our experts to their country. That's one way of increasing cooperation. And now . . ." he glanced at the clock.

One thing impressed me, thinking over this short interview. Mr. Batt is an American industrialist who is devoting his full energies to winning the war. He thinks this can best be done by using every weapon at hand. He welcomes cooperation from the unions and from management and from any other group of people in this country. William L. Batt sees unity as a very practical question of getting things done. His attitude effectively promotes national unity against the enemies of our country, of the Soviet Union, of all the United Nations.

BRUCE MINTON.

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THE COALITION GATHERS STRENGTH

The peoples of the world find fascism's Achilles' heel. The growing cordiality of the anti-Axis nations. Joseph Starobin traces the development of USA-USSR relations.

THE truly historic events announced last week: the consolidation and extension of the Anglo-Soviet alliance and the agreement between our own country and the Soviet Union, achieved through Mr. Molotov's visits to London and Washington, come as the most fitting, dramatic commemoration of June 22, 1941. At the close of a year which is at once so terrible in its tragedy and yet so encouraging for the future of all humanity, it becomes possible to look back at the vast reorientation in American thinking; and one of the most encouraging aspects of all is the increased understanding of what is meant by the coalition of United Nations.

The realization that we are one nation among allies, that to win this war we depend upon our allies just as much as they depend upon us, that the ultimate peace hangs on continuing and deepening the cordiality of the alliance which is essential for winning the war—these are concepts which have been steadily ripening in the American mind over the past twelve months. This process represents not only the obliteration of the whole isolationist era, but it heralds America's real coming-of-age in world affairs. It opens up the perspective that the American people will fulfill those democratic, world-liberating impulses that flow from our history and heritage.

The concept of coalition has a number of implications, and I am thinking of them for the moment with reference to the Soviet Union. Coalition means first of all that we are bound to our allies by a clear recognition of national interest. The emergence of a Hitler-dominated Europe, bent on world conquest, in alliance with a fascist Japan, bent on enslaving the entire Far East, represented a threat to our own and to Soviet Russia's existence as nations. Recognition of this threat and common interest in defeating it lies at the heart of the fast emerging Soviet-American alliance. Failure to eradicate the fascist triplice, or injury to our alliance with Russia, becomes injury to ourselves and our national interest. That is primary.

Secondly, the concept of coalition implies a harmonious strategic outlook on the course of the war. This does not necessarily mean a mathematical equality of sacrifice; in fact the "second front" campaign never did presuppose that we had to give exactly of our manpower or territory as did Russia and China—for a number of historical and geographical reasons that was unlikely—but it did presuppose a unified conception of the war. It presupposed agreement on which was the main enemy, and it meant common efforts to defeat that main enemy as soon as possible, efforts which, though "divided in space, must not be divided in time," as Maxim Litvinov phrased it in February.

Thirdly, the concept of coalition implies not only diplomatic rapprochement between governments but also between peoples, the growth of a close sympathy, the interchange of ideas and experience, a mutual discovery. And finally, coalition implies that the harmonious view of the war's strategy and concerted efforts to win it shall be carried over into the peace.

BY NOW this sounds elementary. And yet the record of the year will show that agreement on these concepts has developed slowly, with hesitations sometimes unconscious. This agreement is still developing as the war teaches us all the hardest lessons, although last week's events have given this process a tremendous impetus. *But the important fact is that the concept of coalition has developed.* And it is all the more breathtaking since the coalition of the United Nations is itself something unique under the sun; it marks the great advance from the co-existence of the capitalist and the socialist systems to their active cooperation.

THE initial and chief obstacle to the growth of coalition lay in the widespread belief that the Soviet Union would only be a temporary, transitory factor in the war, a belief which had carried over from a generation of ignorance and malice. It is no secret that even among our highest officials it was seriously held that the Red Army would be knocked out of the struggle in a matter of weeks. If you reread the newspapers of those early months you come across speculations which today seem absurd and bizarre, speculations about the stability of the Soviet government, about the loyalties of the Soviet peasant and soldier, about the future of Stalin's leadership.

Even after November 7, when Stalin expressed confidence in the outcome of the battle for Moscow and projected victory within a year, the New York *Times* considered it timely to editorialize that the USSR was on the verge of defeat. That editorial, with all the authority that the *Times* carries, sought to apologize in advance for the relatively little aid that had been extended to Russia at the time; it seemed eager to wash its hands of the situation, not without an overtone of smugness.

This initial underestimation of Soviet power gave rise to two tendencies. One was the outright pro-fascist opinion, such as Lindbergh's, that victory would rest with Germany, and that we, according to Herbert Hoover, must build up our military resources only to be in the best bargaining position in the inevitable stalemate between ourselves and the Axis.

The other viewpoint, which proved the decisive one, and subsequently underwent its own evolution, declared that a German victory over Russia must be prevented, if at all possible. It was recognized that a Hitler conquest of Russia would strike us a blow that might prove impossible to nullify. Immediately after June 22, in fact, you will find a curious demand in the New York *Times*—curious in the light of its later extreme caution—for the opening of a second front.

But as the summer's battles wore on, it came to be realized that even if the Red Army could not long remain in the field, at least it was wearing the Nazis down. Russia was to be helped—either directly or by helping Great Britain and then letting the British follow their own conscience—but it was assumed that the war would enter a kind of stalemate until at some point in 1944, the superior economic and military strength of the western nations, especially the United States, would decide the outcome. It would be an American victory, an American peace, and consequently an American century would follow.

The applause in the press and official circles for Russia's great stand became increasingly less begrudging, but in essence the view still prevailed that the Soviet people were being of service to the West—say, on a much vaster scale than Greece or Yugoslavia. At one particularly difficult moment, the *Times* devoted an editorial of consolation to the British people, who were already then demanding a second front. The battles on the Eastern Front were not, in this newspaper's opinion, decisive for the war. There would be "other years, other battles." Britain was losing her last remaining ally on the continent, but after all, she was gaining an ally across the Atlantic.

BUT the dynamic of the global struggle intervened; the realities soon transformed this attitude. It so happened that the Soviet's great winter offensive coincided with Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. This juncture forms a vital turning

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point in the growth of the coalition. The conclusion of the period of the Red Army's defensive resistance, the unrolling of its powerful winter drive, which first revealed the fissures in the Reichswehr, began to hammer home the idea that the USSR was a powerful and *enduring* factor in the war.

Japan's attack on us, while part of her age-old scheme of dominating eastern Asia, was timed to relieve the Axis at a critical moment. In striking at us, Japan was striking with and for Hitler, as the President declared at the time. Japan was striking to divert our aid from Russia, which had been decided upon at the Moscow conference at the end of September. Japan was striking to prevent the consolidation of the coalition. The strategy of our enemies brought home to us the urgency of a world strategy of our own. The war's logic and its deeper tides were disclosing the bed-rock community of interest between ourselves and Russia.

In a sense, Pearl Harbor proved to be a test of Soviet-American relations, and once the test was passed, those relations were greatly strengthened. The issue arose as to whether the USSR would now attack Japan, or give us bases from which to carry the attack forward. Mr. Litvinov, who had just arrived, argued that the higher interests of the coalition made it essential that the USSR concentrate her main activity in Europe, and avoid any risk of position in the Far East. That this view prevailed, except for the appeasement forces, testified to the fact that most Americans were beginning to see the war as a whole. They were grasping a common strategic view of the war, a fundamental thing.

BUT even this stride soon appeared inadequate. Despite the inauguration of the United Nations and the Soviet Union's signature of the Atlantic Charter, the beginnings that were made in fulfilling the Moscow protocol, the new year disclosed a considerabile disparity on strategy. The idea that the war would be decided in 1944 had changed to 1943. As to whether the Eastern Front would be the scene of decision was not yet clear. On this latter question, it appears that the highest official circles agreed during Churchill's visit in December that defeating Hitler was primary. It also appears, in retrospect, that the emphasis on 1943 was given the widest currency in Mr. Churchill's speeches to our Congress and the Canadian parliament. In the meantime, however, on the crest of their great offensive, Soviet spokesmen were emphasizing the importance of 1942 as the year of probable decision. And they stressed the importance of concerting our efforts with theirs this spring and this summer—not at some distant time. A second front, coinciding with the hammer blows of the Red Army, could crush the Nazi military machine, but it had to come in time. And time, said the Soviet ambassador, is a treacherous ally, who works for either side.

Again, the logic of war proved stronger than abstract calculations and wish-fulfillments. It so happened that the Red Army's offensive reached its peak simultaneously with our setbacks in the Far East. This contrast settled many questions, and gave the coalition another move ahead. The sweep and grandeur of the Soviet effort not only eliminated doubts about the permanence of the Soviet Union's participation in the war, but made it clear that the Eastern Front—far from being secondary—was likely to be decisive. In commenting on the war's developments in January, the New York *Herald Tribune* remarked that the Soviet front was still the "front of great battles and great hopes."

And the way Singapore was defended by contrast could only discredit even further those "whiskey-swilling planters and military birds of passage" of a vanishing era, whose friends in London happened to be the same people that were opposing the ever swelling British demand for action.

After Singapore, the people of our own country as well as of Britain began to experience a deep revulsion at every thought of waiting, no matter how watchful. General MacArthur at Bataan came to symbolize the kind of resistance Americans demanded; Jimmy Doolittle over Tokyo came to symbolize the offensive spirit our people applauded. And as the Pacific tide of war ebbed to the shores of India and Australia, it become clear that action in Europe was the road that opened to world victory. From March onward our newspapers have been full of the increasing recognition that 1942, and not some future time, is the time to act. Our labor movement, inspired also by what the British people were doing, took an increasingly active role in making a second front possible—both by its matchless production records and by its vocal support to the call for "taking the offensive."

AND more and more it came to be realized that the Russians, as Quentin Reynolds put it as early as November, were "our kind of people." "It is impossible to live long here," he wrote in *Collier's* of November 8, "without coming to love the people of Russia. They are decent, home-loving people, and you could take a slice of them and drop them in our Midwest and within a few weeks you wouldn't be able to distinguish them from our own decent, law-abiding citizens. I haven't been in Russia long, but I've been here long enough to learn that these are our kind of people." The process of discovering Russia, which the President touched off by recalling in September that after all, our own constitution, like the Soviet one, separates church and state, had by April gone very much further. More and more it came to be realized that the Soviet attitude toward the family, toward the individual, toward industrial technique, toward the homeland stems from a faith in science and the common man similar to our own. And Vice-President Henry A. Wallace deepened the growth of coalition when he pointed out in his recent address that the Russian Revolution is in the mainstream of the people's revolutions of which our own, 150 years ago, formed the first.

Not only has the myth of Soviet "totalitarianism" been undermined and largely interred, but a basis has been laid for that close cooperation and interchange of which Molotov's visit is but a great beginning.

SIX or eight months ago it was possible for certain anti-Axis papers to doubt whether Moscow's battle was fateful for our nation; recently, we all watched the struggle for Kharkov with bated breath and eagerness for our own action. Eight months ago, it was possible to quibble over whether Russia was our ally; recently, Archibald MacLeish in his speech to the newspaper publishers included as one of the earmarks of treasonous propaganda the effort to undermine our faith in the USSR. In October Walter Lippmann was almost alone among capitalist commentators when he grasped the essence of coalition in a remarkable passage: "The Russian resistance," he wrote, "rests on the view that this struggle will not be decided by pitched battles, but by the mobilization of the superior resources of the anti-Hitler coalition. Thus the Russian resistance is not suicidal, but rational, provided that we, the least vulnerable member of the coalition, do in fact mobilize our power. The Russians, we now see, are not the dreaming Slavs of the romantic legends, but when put to the test, they are as realistic as they are brave. The most powerful support we can give them now, at this moment is to prove by our acts that we are mobilizing our power, not partially, not twenty-five per cent of it, but all of it that can be mobilized." Six months later Donald Nelson assured us that this mobilization had exceeded expectations, and the War Production Board was curtailing its post-1942 planning.

No, Americans are not the decadent people of the Hitlerian slander but, when put to the test, they will be as brave and realistic as our Soviet allies. We have passed the first stages of the test. After the President's meeting with Molotov, the whole world, our own people above all, awaits the climax that will ensure victory.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

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SECRET BALLOT: Premier Stalin casts his ballot in the election for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Soviet Constitution guarantees the secret ballot.

PEOPLE'S LEADERS: Foreign Affairs Commissar Molotov (who recently visited the US) Stalin, and Ambassador to the US Litvinov, take a stroll in Kremlin Square.

OUR ALLY'S PREMIER

UNITED NATIONS: Two delegates from the collective farms in Tajikistan and Turkmenia, two of the sixteen Soviet Republics, meet with Joseph Stalin in Moscow.

SVETLANA and PA: Premier Stalin and his small daughter in an informal moment in the country. The date is 1937, the sentiment timeless.

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STALIN: THE WARRIOR LEADER

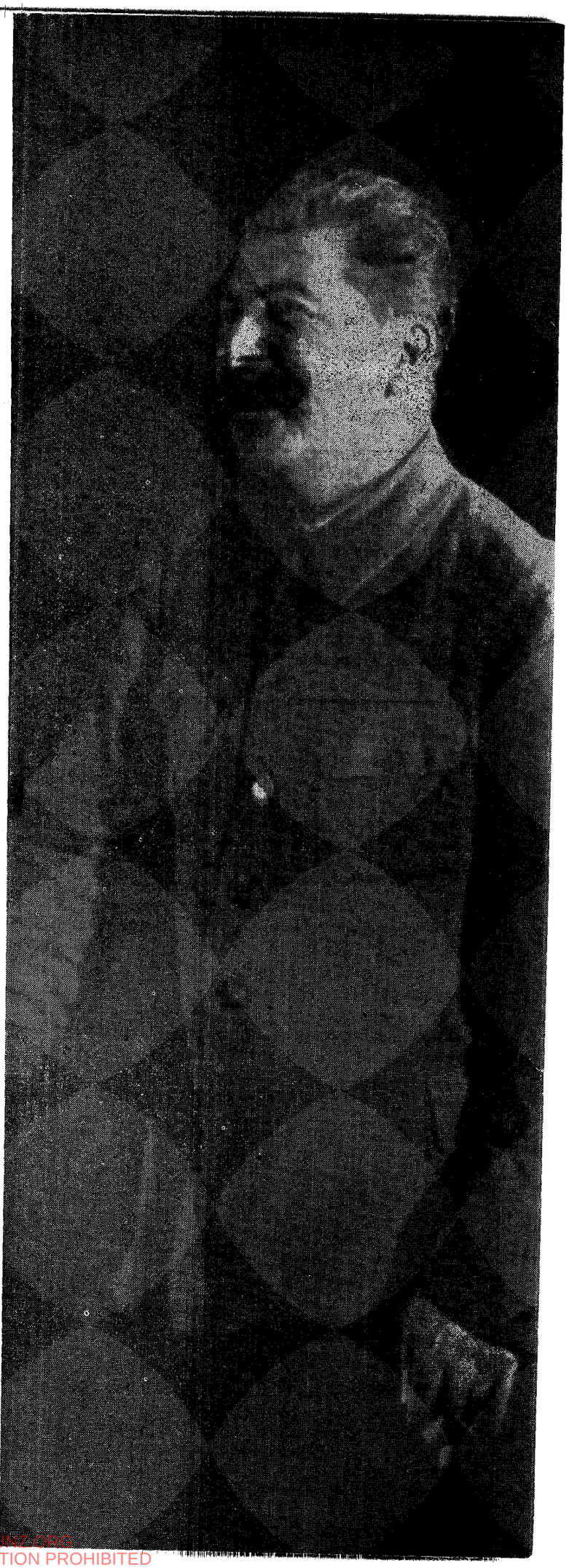
"IF YOU can picture a personality that is exactly opposite to what the most rabid anti-Stalinist anywhere could conceive, then you might picture this man." Joseph E. Davies, former American ambassador to Russia, wrote those words about Joseph Stalin in his book, *Mission to Moscow*. Others have in recent months paid tribute to the extraordinary qualities of this man—Harry Hopkins, Lord Beaverbrook, W. Averill Harriman, Ralph Ingersoll, to mention only a few. And millions of Americans have been getting to know the real Stalin—not the ogre depicted in the Hearst and Trotskyite press and in the scurrilous writings of men like Eugene Lyons, Max Eastman, Boris Souvarine, and Isaac Don Levine—the Stalin who has directed the magnificent resistance of the Russian armies, who has forged a unity among the diverse peoples of the USSR such as no other country has known.

Stalin is a Georgian, himself a member of a nationality formerly oppressed by the czar. Born in poverty on Dec. 21, 1879, he was sent to a theological seminary to study for the priesthood. But at fifteen he became active in illegal Marxist groups and eventually was expelled from the seminary. He joined the Social-Democratic Labor Party and soon was organizing workers and writing leaflets and articles. Lenin, nine years his senior, was just then coming to the fore as the leader of the Russian revolutionary movement and he profoundly influenced the young Stalin. When the split occurred in 1903 between the genuine Marxists (Bolsheviks), led by Lenin, and the opportunist minority (Mensheviks), Stalin took his stand firmly with the Bolsheviks. Months and years of imprisonment and exile failed to swerve him from his chosen path.

The myth that when Lenin died in 1924, Stalin was an unknown who muscled his way into power, will not stand up under scrutiny. In his early twenties Stalin was already the outstanding leader of the Bolsheviks in Transcaucasia, known not only as an organizer, but as an editor, writer, and Marxist theoretician. At thirty-two, despite his absence in exile, he was at Lenin's suggestion elected to the Bolshevik Central Committee. On his escape from exile in February 1912 Stalin was made head of the Central Committee's Russian Bureau and assigned to work in St. Petersburg. While there he was entrusted with the guidance of the Bolshevik deputies in the Duma, and under his direction the daily paper *Pravda* (Truth) was founded. In 1913 he was again arrested and exiled to the wastes of Siberia, where he remained till March 1917.

IN THE stormy events leading up to the Bolshevik revolution of November 1917 which established democracy and socialism in Russia, Stalin's role was second only to Lenin's. When the latter was forced into hiding by the terror of the Kerensky government, Stalin was chosen to take his place at the historic Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in July-August 1917, delivering the two main reports. Stalin also headed the central directing body that organized the November revolution. In the first Soviet government he was named People's Commissar for Nationalities. This underlined one of the most important aspects of Stalin's work: his role as the outstanding theoretician and expert on the problems of oppressed nations. His essay, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* has become a classic of Marxist literature.

Stalin's work in the building of socialism and the classless society in the Soviet Union places him with the great people's leaders of all time. His faith in the common people, his wisdom and devotion to principle, his remarkable integration of the thinker and doer have led the 200,000,000 people of what was once backward Russia to the achievement of those miracles of industrial growth and military power that have given incalculable strength to the peoples of the world in the war against fascism.



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A CHURCHMAN LOOKS AT RUSSIA

Beneath the bombs, says the Dean of Canterbury, "I write with a glowing hope. Hand in hand, we shall reach heights undreamed of in the past. . . ."

The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, is known to thousands of Americans through his remarkable book, "The Soviet Power." He was born in 1874, the son of a prosperous Manchester manufacturing family. After taking his first degree in science and engineering, he studied at Oxford, intending to combine the careers of missionary and engineer. Instead, he entered the ministry and after nineteen years was appointed to his present post as Dean of the greatest cathedral in England.

London (by cable)

WHEN Germany struck Russia, the British press swung around in one night from hostility to praise. Less rapid than the press, but resting on surer foundations, has been the swing-around of British religious groups. Repugnance to Russia yields to the astonishment of Soviet strength and admiration for Soviet resistance. The courage and pertinacity, no less than the equipment and skill of the Red Army, have provoked a thirst for more and more accurate knowledge.

The economic achievements, the output of munitions, the existence of great industrial bases at Kuibyshev, in the Urals, and at Kuznetz, together with the transportation of machinery from invaded Kharkov to the unassailable East, have amazed all observers. And the voluntary burning of farm and homestead, house and factory, combined with the growth of guerrilla warfare, gives the lie once and for all to the tales of repression and smoldering revolt. These things reveal the moral qualities as striking as the physical achievements.

War constitutes the supreme test for men and nations and Russia emerges untarnished, unbroken, and undiscredited by the war. It is the calculated lies of those who sought for base ends to defame her which shrivel up in war.

RELIGIOUS circles in England have in the past been slow to appreciate the realities of the Russian situation. Too readily have they lent themselves as tools of reaction because of a thorough misunderstanding of the religious question, because of false information. Clerical opposition to Russia made a Russian-British pact impossible and war inevitable. That attitude, however, changes rapidly now. Churches awaken. Curiosity leads to knowledge and knowledge to appreciation. A few, perhaps, are better qualified to judge this than I. Almost alone among the clergy, quite alone amongst the highly placed clergy, I tried to tell my country what was happening in the East and met a full measure of distrust, hatred, and scorn. Almost every pulpit was closed to me and the Canons of Canterbury denounced me in a letter to the London *Times*.

The war has changed that. Progressively, a large company of Scottish ministers sent for me to address them, pulpits in my own church were offered, the Dean of Portsmouth organized an Aid-to-Russia meeting with the Roman Catholic Lord Mayor in the chair. It was held, as other halls had been bombed, in the nave of the Cathedral where I preached on the following Sunday. The same in Chester Cathedral where the Bishop Dean urged that I had a message for them. The same in Coventry, and Birmingham, and Bristol. And so it goes on everywhere. At mass Anglo-Soviet meetings throughout the British Isles, the clergy appear on platforms, take the chair, and propose votes of thanks.

The Bishop of Chelmsford became the chairman of the National Council for British-Soviet Unity; the Bishop of Bradford took the chair at Anglo-Soviet meetings. Archbishop Lang asked a prayer for Russia; Archbishop Temple now in the See of St. Augustine said at an important meeting in Manchester that the religion of Christ has no essential quarrel with Communism. Religious people are examining more closely the real religious situation in Russia in the light of the religious history of the remote and recent past and learning that as Eastern religion placed supreme stress on religious worship and lesser stress on doctrine and morality and propaganda, so the Soviet Union has been genuine in her grant of freedom of conscience in the matter of religion by making worship entirely free.

The more thoughtful religious people are going deeper and

Rev. Johnson (extreme left) taking part in the ceremony elevating Dr. William Temple (seated) to Archbishop of Canterbury.

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saying that Russia is working out in her social life much that the Christian Church has preached but not practiced. It has been too true, often, that Russia says she does not believe in God and lives as if she did, while we say we believe and live as if we did not. At least the masses of religious people now feel a new hope as they look at Russia and a new courage and inspiration to build up a society, as Russia has done, on Christian principles.

I write in the midst of the fiercest bombardment that Canterbury has ever received, with burned and desolated homes all around me. But I write with a glowing hope and firm belief in my heart. We are on the threshold of a new world, more Christian, more brotherly. Hand in hand with Russia, now in war and afterward in peace, we shall reach heights undreamed of in the past.

HEWLETT JOHNSON.

WE GERMAN ANTI-FASCISTS

Lion Feuchtwanger says the truth is dawning upon his people. "Unbiased, unconditional and sincere cooperation. . . ."

Lion Feuchtwanger, distinguished author of "Power," "The Oppermanns," "Paris Gazette," "Josephus and the Emperor," and other celebrated novels, continues in exile his militant fight against Hitlerism. In a volume published here a few years ago, "Moscow 1937," he recorded his friendly impressions of the Soviet Union, where he spent some time after his escape from the Gestapo. His collected works have been translated in the Soviet Union and have been enthusiastically received by a wide audience. Feuchtwanger's experience in France and his escape from a concentration camp are described in his "The Devil in France," published here last year. At present, the author resides in Los Angeles.

WHEN we German anti-fascists first heard of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, our breath stood still. It was not that we doubted for one moment the final victory of the Soviet Union. But we knew that in June 1941 it was facing the mightiest war machine ever built; and though other nations intended to aid the USSR and had good reasons for doing so, they still lacked the means. To be sure, the USSR had the four prerequisites for final victory—magnificent manpower, excellent machines, leaders of genius, and a cause rooted in the heart and brain of every one of its fighters: the defense of the powerful land they had erected, the first socialist state in history. Nevertheless we anti-fascists living in other countries trembled at the thought of the terrible blows the Soviet Union would have to suffer during the first months of war.

Then to our surprise and joy, we, who were convinced of the strength of the Soviet Union, saw how splendidly it stood the test in the war forced upon it. With renewed, profound admiration we witnessed the slow unfolding in all its ramifications of Stalin's master plan. But how much more deeply surprised must have been those to whom propaganda—no less strong than the German war machine—had obscured or viciously distorted all the facts about the Soviet Union? In many countries, and especially in Germany, the masses had been led to believe that one blow from the Nazi war machine would suffice to destroy utterly the evil spell of the Soviet Union, that "Judeo-Bolshevist" creation with feet of clay. They assumed that the peoples of the USSR would joyously cast off the heavy chains of their bloodthirsty tyrants and go over to their liberators from the West. Now these millions of dupes saw that what happened was exactly the opposite of what they had been told with so much fervor, with such a medley of hate, love, and statistics.

The Dean inspects wreckage in Canterbury after a Nazi raid.

EXPERTS declare that the common people generally know much less than one assumes, but that at the same time they are much more intelligent than one thinks. It was relatively easy for the Nazi government to keep the Germans in ignorance of developments in the Soviet Union. But it is impossible to prevent the masses from drawing the proper conclusions from what they are now experiencing, from Nazi defeats at the hands of the Soviet Union. For the masses are now convinced of the tremendous external and internal strength of the USSR. Yes, with its victories the Soviet Union has not only smashed the barbarians' armies; it has also opened the eyes of millions—and not in Germany alone—to the nature and aims of the Soviet Union. Many who formerly were in ignorance are now beginning to understand the simple yet very complicated master plan which Stalin elaborated to overcome the monster of Nazism.

The anti-Nazis within Germany were practically cut off from every possibility of shedding light on the facts. They strove to counter the lies of cynical propaganda, but eventually the constant repetition of those lies broke down the faith of many. Hence they breathed all the more deeply and joyfully when the events of the war proved to be the best teacher. Now they have visible material at hand to present the truth to their countrymen.

Millions of undecided Germans were inwardly ripe for this truth and accepted it. Let there be no mistake about it: the Nazis have never had deep roots in Germany. Careful estimates show that even at the heyday of their success the Nazis could claim as devoted followers little more than twenty-five percent of the population. At least as many Germans were convinced anti-Nazis, while the remaining fifty percent of the population

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was neutral, uninterested in politics, vacillating to and fro with each success or failure.

The German is by no means a barbarian by nature. It is true that millions of undecided people—about half of the population, as we have stated—were silent while the Nazis committed their acts of brutality; but they accepted these brutalities only with great reluctance because they had been told that such acts were necessary to assure the "new order." "You have to break eggs to make an omelette," was the way Goering excused Nazi barbarism. But now when it is clear that these acts of terror have led to defeat and not to external triumphs, the millions of undecided yearn to throw off the yoke. They are no longer undecided; and those who have been anti-Nazis from the start no longer find it difficult to make these Germans hope for a quick ending to the Nazis' death-struggle and a victory for the United Nations.

Dr. George Gallup, who has never been suspected of leftist sympathies, came to the following conclusion after one of his long and thorough-going studies of public opinion: the will and judgment of the broad masses of the people are generally considerably in advance of the judgment and behavior of their political representatives, parliaments, governments, and press. This is exemplified in the case of the Soviet Union. The common people everywhere have grown aware of the strength and aims of the USSR much more quickly than their public representatives. The common people everywhere realize that without the Soviet Union final victory over barbarism and the building of a new and finer civilization are not possible. Therefore the masses everywhere welcome with all their hearts close, unbiased, unconditional, and sincere cooperation of all the United Nations with the USSR.

The Soviet leaders have built up from ruins a great, new, and well-ordered socialist state. But convinced from the outset that they were surrounded by enemies, they developed in good time a powerful war machine in order to defend the civilization they had erected with so much blood and toil. While the Nazis, perfecting their military machine, enjoyed financial and ideological assistance from all sides, the Soviets had to build up their war machine alone against the open and covert resistance of the entire world. Moreover, they had to give part of their war equipment to the menaced democracies, to China and to Spain, since these democratic nations received no assistance elsewhere. Above all, therefore, because the Soviet Union has had to bear almost single-handed the brunt of the barbarian Nazi aggression for many months, it now requires real assistance from the other countries. The world has to make up for much to the Soviet Union. So the more quickly, readily, and massively the United Nations aid the Soviet Union to defend civilization against barbarism, the more rapidly will all the nations opposed to Hitlerism be able to enjoy the fruits of victory.

LION FEUCHTWANGER.

Ross. Courtesy Russian War Relief.

Last Winter: "What does this mean, Private Schultz? 'Dear Russian War Relief, New York City, Please send me one of those nice warm sweaters.'"

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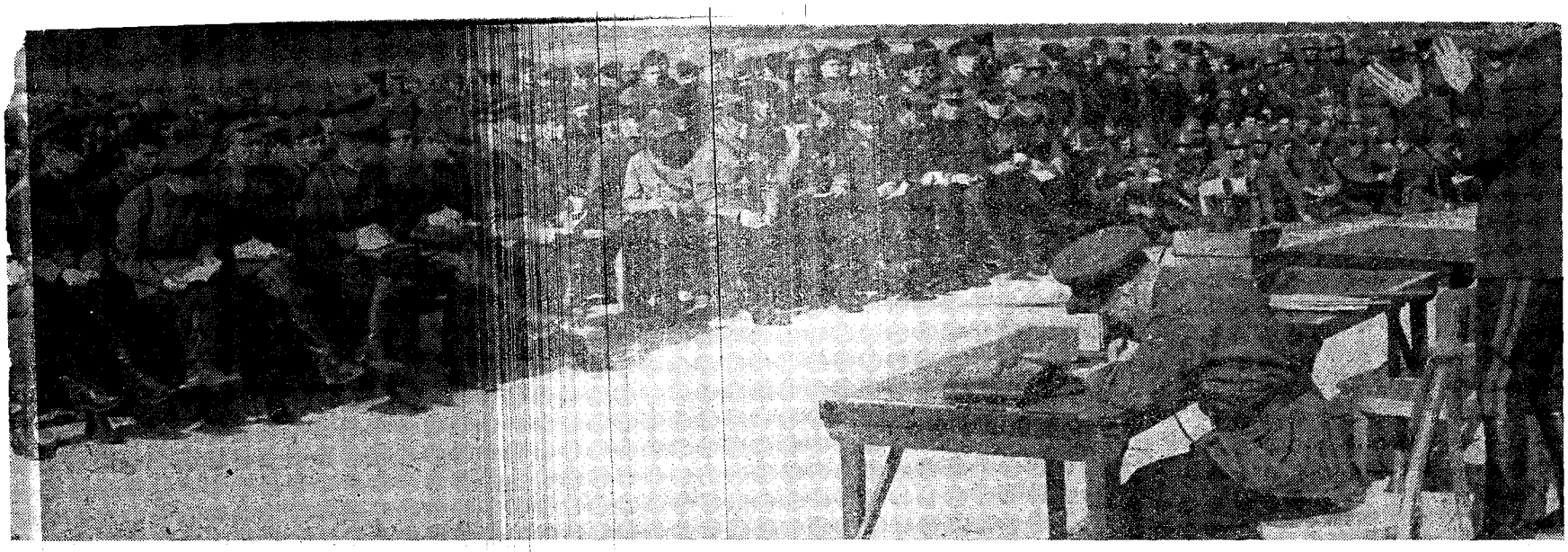

Marshal Timoshenko discussing a tactical problem with a group of officers.

THE YEAR THE RED ARMY GAINED US

Colonel T. reviews how the mighty Soviet military force blasted the "supermen" and put the Nazi machine in reverse. The final key to victory—a Western Front.

AT THIS writing fifty weeks have passed since Germany threw the military resources of the whole of Europe against the Soviet Union. During this entire year an average of 500 divisions has been fighting daily on the Eastern Front, supported by something like fifty tank divisions, a dozen air fleets, and scores of thousands of guns. Probably close to 10,000,000 men have been killed and wounded. Half a million square miles of territory have been devastated by war, scorched earth, and Nazi cussedness. This is the debit side of the ledger.

On the credit side we have a number of portentous entries. The myth of German invincibility has been destroyed once and forever by the Red Army. A force has emerged which has demonstrated its ability to stand the shock of the Wehrmacht, to stop it, and to start kicking it around. More Germans have been killed and wounded in twelve months than during the fifty-one months of the first world war. The Germans have lost twice as many men as the Soviet people, and considerably more guns, tanks, and planes than the Red Army.

Finally, the world has seen that the emergence of Quislings and other traitors is not the necessary consequence of the tread of a German boot on conquered soil and that a nation can lose tremendous values and still preserve its pride, its soul, and its fighting spirit. More than that, the world has been shown how under certain social and organizational conditions heavy hammerblows can *create* instead of *shattering*.

Let us now review briefly what the Red Army has done to achieve this, i.e., let us consider the military factors.

A year ago a fully mobilized Germany threw 165 divisions against the seventy-five-odd Soviet divisions then available for the protection of the western border. The Soviet General Staff well understood that it would be foolhardy to risk these divisions in a pitched battle with offensive strategic tendencies, because this force would have been destroyed and all the mobilization centers of the country uncovered. The only thing to do was to transfer the defense into the interior, i.e. retreat face to the enemy, stubbornly destroying his manpower and materiel, making him pay for every river crossing, for every village, every promontory. This retreat was to continue until the lengthened enemy lines of communications, the shortened Soviet lines, the higher losses of the enemy, the total mobilization of the defending country, and the weather permitted a reversal along a certain line. When the sum total of these conditions was attained in the most advantageous combination, the Red Army struck back and went over to the offensive.

Five months of retreat, face to the enemy, were followed by the winter offensive which lasted about four months. About one-fifth of the occupied territory was wrested from the Germans. Their losses during this entire period were not detailed. But during the first month of the counter-offensive, when some fifty German divisions were routed at Tikhvin, Kalinin, Tula, and Rostov, the Germans lost over 1,000,000 men, some 3,000 tanks, 2,600 planes, and 3,000 guns. (These figures include the enemy losses during the last supreme German offensive against Moscow, i.e., they cover the period between November 22 and December 20.) During this three-month period the Germans were slowly retreating, hanging on to their system of semi-isolated strong points. Some of these were captured by the Red Army, others were encircled, others still were outflanked. Some remained unchallenged.

The Red Army using mobile troops consisting of cavalry and skiers swished past these points like a flood, cutting communications and attacking the Germans from flank and rear. But the strategy of the Soviet General Staff was not to storm the German strong points by means of mass attacks which would have been very costly. The idea was to continue to demolish a lot of Germans and a lot of German equipment mostly by artillery fire and aerial bombs, to keep the German Army off balance by retaining the initiative all along the front, and to wait for the Germans to "thaw out" from their strong points and emerge in the open. While beating a tattoo of continuous shifting attacks all along the front, the Red Army did not attempt a strategic offensive, but waited for the German plans to take shape in order to strike against concentrations of German troops and to mess them up before they could deploy.

ON THE anniversary of the beginning of the great German offensive in the West on May 10, 1940, the Germans struck at Kerch. They were hoping to achieve several things: to distract Marshal Timoshenko's reserves from the crucial Rostov directions, to clear their right flank of the threat of Soviet troops in the eastern part of the Crimea, and, finally, to try out certain new methods and weapons elaborated during the winter; the Germans obviously wished to make this try-out in a secluded spot with a highly restricted *place d'armes*. The latter was the case with the Red Army, which had only a bit of land to hang on to with the water of the Straits at its back.

The Germans won the Peninsula with overwhelming force, cleared their rear for a future attack against Sebastopol, but

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failed in the main objective: Marshal Timoshenko did not walk into their trap. Instead he struck at Kharkov and proceded to mess up von Bock's concentrations which were destined for the Rostov direction. Now von Bock had to use his troops askew, on the Izyum-Barvenkovo sector to try and cut up Timoshenko's flank. Timoshenko achieved his purpose and set the German timetable back. Von Bock did not crack Timoshenko's left, but bogged down himself on the Donetz.

After this a sort of standstill slugging match was initiated along most sectors of the front, with the Red Army again keeping the Germans off balance, refusing to show its hand and waiting to see where the Germans would concentrate again. However, there was one sector where the German goal was so obvious that no surprises were possible on either side. This sector was Sebastopol. It was clear as day that the Germans were going to attack the fortress. Here it must be understood that while Sebastopol is absolutely necessary to the Germans in order to control the Black Sea, its capture would not necessarily give them that control because they have no navy to speak of in that body of water. In such a contingency the Soviet Black Sea Fleet could fall back upon the bases of Novorossisk and Batum which are not as good as Sebastopol, but would still enable it to keep going.

At this writing the Eleventh German Army of General von Mannstein, comprising ten divisions, is storming the historic citadel. The Soviet lines, with the assistance of the Black Sea Fleet, are holding firm in spite of a severe handicap—lack of sufficient airdromes within the perimeter of the Sebastopol defenses. The Kharkov Front is active again with renewed German attacks against positions won by Timoshenko's troops in the middle of May.

THE study of the operations of the past year reveals the following:

1. The Soviet Union as a political body and the Red Army as a military force are made of a material which does not disintegrate under the heaviest blows, but which becomes stronger and more tempered under these blows.
2. Soviet industry and agriculture did not go to pieces in the tragic days of the summer of 1941, but reorganized themselves and increased their production.
3. The Red Army not only learned its lessons, but was quick enough to take advantage of German mistakes.
4. The Soviet General Staff showed extreme strategic and tactical flexibility and lack of routine thinking. New weapons and new tactics were devised, tested, and applied. Some of these weapons (like the anti-tank rifle, the anti-tank plane, etc.) bid fair to play a predominant role in the winning of this war.
5. Finally, the two "extensions" of the Red Army—the armed people in the Soviet rear and the guerrillas in the German rear not only did not slacken their effort, but after a year are today more vigorous, efficient, and determined than ever.

All these conditions have changed the balance of forces on the Eastern Front. The hand of the scales hovers near the zero point. A comparatively small weight thrown on the side of the United Nations must inevitably hasten the final decision. This decision can be reached this year by removing a score or so German divisions from the Eastern Front. An air offensive, however brilliant and effective, will not do it. *A second front must be opened on land, so the powder-keg of Europe blows up in the face of the "supermen."*

The Red Army has for a whole year stood up to the monstrosity practically alone. It has blasted the German myth. It has fought the Wehrmacht to a walk, to a crawl, to a stop, and, finally—has put it in reverse. Now the supreme—the third—German spasm is at hand. The Soviets and the Red Army during the past year have shown us all the examples—self-sacrifice, fortitude, efficiency and fighting spirit. We have the stuff to follow these examples. Let us do it, or there will be another "lost generation" on this earth. COLONEL T.

3/5

Dear Reader:

It CAN be done. And we know you will do it.

Five months ago we opened our drive for $40,000—the minimum amount necessary to enable us to see the year through. To date, you have sent NM almost $25,000, or about 60% of the total needed. That has enabled us to pay off enough to allow NM to reach the summer, to get you such special issues as this one, and the one on the Western Front.

But now we are in the summer, and that season is the most perilous for all publications, financially. That's the doldrous time, so far as funds are concerned. But this summer a war may well be won—or lost—and we need to hit on all cylinders every week, every issue.

The printer, the paper company, the engraver, want 100%; you have sent us 60%. And that 40% must be raised.

We know we must—and we will—continue our drive until the 100% is reached so that the magazine can live the year through. But let us present this consideration: we want to finish appealing for funds within the magazine. Frankly, we regret the space necessary to tell the financial story—important as that story is. You should see the articles vying for space. We want, therefore, to ask your help. If we can reach $30,000 within the next fortnight—another $5,000—we will feel secure enough to continue the drive outside these pages. We will see our friends, run parties, affairs, etc., until we reach the top.

If you have been waiting to send in your contribution, please wait no longer. Send it today—and by July we will have the additional space for our regular editorial material.

Can we hear from you by return mail?

The Editors

(See page 29)

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THIS WE LEARNED ABOUT RUSSIA

Corliss Lamont describes the falsehoods that misled Americans and the reevaluation taking place now. "The seeds of . . . friendship between our two peoples . . . have finally begun to flower."

Corliss Lamont, national chairman of the American Council on Soviet Relations, was born in Englewood, N. J., in 1902. After graduating from Harvard, he studied at Oxford and at Columbia University where he received his Ph.D in Philosophy. For the past two years he has been on the staff of the New School for Social Research, lecturing on the Philosophy of Humanism. Dr. Lamont's first tour of the Soviet Union was in 1932. He visited the country again in 1938. His most recent book, "You Might Like Socialism," has won wide acclaim.

IT IS a tragic paradox that war sometimes brings about, both on a national and international scale, a unity and cooperative spirit that peace seems unable to achieve. War is a supreme test for people and for peoples. Then indeed first things must come first. And what we hold and fight for in common with our fellow-citizens and with our comrades-in-arms across the seas naturally and necessarily takes precedence over the divisive interests and rivalries that plague us during times of peace. War is a terrible evil, yet it can bring out the highest qualities of endeavor and self-sacrifice and understanding among men and nations. That is why the American philosopher William James so stressed the human importance of finding "the moral equivalent of war."

Since Hitler hurled his Nazi hordes a year ago against the Soviet Union and was himself finally hurled back by the great counter-offensive of the Soviet armies, a new understanding of the Russian people, forged in the flames of world-fateful conflict, has taken place among the different countries of the earth. This new understanding has of course come to all of Russia's allies who are fighting under the banner of the United Nations. But we can be sure, too, that in the Nazi-occupied lands of Europe, in the satellite states gathered around Hitler's fatal death-head, in the chief Axis Powers themselves, the story and meaning of Russia's magnificent battle have been getting through to the people, despite all censorship and terror.

Here in America a far-reaching reevalution of Soviet Russia has been going on in every class of society. We remember only too well what we were told back in June and July of 1941 by the almost unanimous chorus of "military experts," radio commentators, columnists, and editorial writers: that the Russian armies would be disastrously beaten within three weeks or six weeks or eight weeks at most; that "the Russian regime would collapse" (I'm quoting Walter Lippmann now) "and be replaced by one under German control"; that "practically all the Russians" (this is Freda Utley speaking) "—especially the Ukrainians who have suffered most—will welcome any change of masters"; that "The Government of Russia" (this is from the editorial page of the New York *Times*) "is notoriously incompetent" and "it is quite possible that American war material sent to Stalin would end up in Hitler's hands."

HISTORY has dealt hard with these prophets and prophecies. Yet how could it happen that ninety-five percent of the American public swallowed this sort of nonsense? The explanation is fairly simple. During the entire twenty-four years since the Russian Revolution of 1917, American public opinion in general was utterly misled by the unceasing barrage of misinformation and misunderstanding concerning the Soviet Union laid down by newspapers, radio stations, magazines, and publishers. This malicious campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda became even more intense in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II. (Not to mention what happened after the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact and during the Finnish-Soviet war.) For it was a fundamental part of the appeasers' game in France, England, and the United States to portray Soviet Russia as hopelessly weak in military power, economic organization, and morale. The Chamberlain-Daladier gang consciously followed this policy in order to encourage the fascists to attack the USSR and to provide a justification for their own refusal to work out a real peace front with Russia based on the principles of collective security. Indeed, the Cliveden sets everywhere apparently propagandized even themselves so successfully that they were genuinely surprised when the Soviet Union proceeded to belie all they had said about it.

What went on about the USSR in the United States is well illustrated by the attitude of the picture weekly *Life*. A few years ago Mr. Henry Luce and the editors of *Life* magazine decided that they would give the American people the complete, impartial story of Joseph Stalin's career. So they went into one of their customary huddles and got under way a well organized scouting expedition to search out the one scholar in all the world best qualified to write an objective portrait of Mr. Stalin. They could not find their man in the United States, but they did find him in Mexico. And of course you can guess his name—Leon Trotsky!

Immediately following the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war, the editors of *Life* again determined to obtain for their readers the most reliable possible account of the situation. Unfortunately for Mr. Luce, Leon Trotsky was dead. But he discovered someone almost as well qualified, in fact none other than Alexander Kerensky, premier of Russia in 1917 who was thrown out by Lenin and the Communists. Like Mr. Trotsky, Mr. Kerensky had had some differences of opinion with the Soviet regime! Kerensky of course wept bitter tears over the approaching doom of the Russian people and predicted the downfall of the Soviets within the familiar six weeks. To the credit of *Life* be it said that since that time it has become considerably more objective about the USSR and has run some excellent material on the Nazi-Soviet war. One must wonder. however, whether its reform is permanent.

CONSIDERING, then, the history of American education—or rather miseducation—on the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1941, we can state that the American people have made immense progress over the past year in the total reevaluation of the USSR that is so essential. This reevaluation begins with the brute—very brute—facts of the war on the Russian front and develops their clear and obvious implications. Even the Hearst newspapers are obliged to admit that the Soviet armies not only have sustained themselves intact against Hitler and inflicted tremendous losses upon him, but have in the last six months driven him back all along the line and brought to a stalemate his much-publicized spring offensive. These are simple facts that must be accepted by everyone.

And it logically follows from these facts: first, that Soviet Russia possessed modern, mechanized, military equipment—airplanes, tanks, guns, motorized vehicles, and so on—in large

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quantities and of first-rate quality; second, that Soviet Russia had efficiently functioning factories and workers for the mass production of this equipment; third, that during the past generation the bulk of men and women workers in Soviet Russia were technically trained to manufacture highly developed armament and other goods and that a sufficient number of them were trained to operate and service the finished products; fourth, that the planned economic system of Soviet Russia was functioning fairly well before the war and that it has carried on with phenomenal success for a whole year under the strain of the most savage and all-out military conflict ever imposed on a modern nation; fifth, that the morale of the Soviet armies and people, as exemplified in the frontline fighting, guerrilla warfare, the scorched earth policy, and civilian defense, has been absolutely superb; and sixth, that Soviet leadership in the armed forces, in the government, and in economic affairs has been outstandingly competent, vigorous, and statesmanlike.

There is a great deal that I could say on each of these points, but I must be content with two or three special comments. In regard to the general Soviet standard of living in terms of consumers' goods, we can understand fully now why that standard, high as it rose comparatively, did not altogether fulfill the hopes that many observers held out for it. The fact is that as the menace of fascist aggression increased, the Soviets felt compelled to allocate more and more of their resources and economic energies to the armament industries. We in America today are beginning to understand that an armament program adequate to meet the Axis threat requires an extensive curtailment of consumers' goods. The Soviet leaders and people, however, realized this a long time ago and—much to the ultimate benefit of America and the United Nations—began to limit certain categories of production for the sake of preparedness. But the professional anti-Soviets of course claimed that this far-sightedness was simply a sign of poverty, weakness, and inefficiency.

As regards Soviet morale, I cannot help thinking how often the charge has been repeated in recent years that the Russian people had become completely regimented, reduced to mere unreflecting cogs in a vast totalitarian machine, robbed of all individual initiative. Yet the sort of war that the Russians have waged against the Nazis has demanded and demonstrated precisely the highest qualities of individual initiative: Soviet troops, encircled and their officers killed, fighting to the death or cutting their way out; Soviet aviators, sending Nazi planes to their doom through the new technique of ramming, that is, hit-and-run in mid-air; Soviet guerrillas, operating singly or in small bands, harassing and killing German troops day and night; blowing up munitions dumps, cutting communications, making the occupied areas a living hell for Hitler and his men; and the Soviet civilian population, defying the invader at all times and places, constantly performing individual deeds of heroism, showing immense resourcefulness in every way. If all this does not prove the presence of individual initiative, then I don't know what does.

Coming to the matter of Soviet leadership, I naturally recall those tall tales so widely spread about the Soviet government purging all the best generals and executives in the country. I shall sum up those purges and the Moscow Trials simply by quoting from Walter Duranty's last book, *The Kremlin and the People:* "In France they made their fifth columnists cabinet ministers, in Russia they shot them." (In America, I might add, we make them the owners of large newspapers.) Surely we can all agree that when a nation gets rid of its Lavals and Petains and Quislings, it is getting rid of *Hitler's* leaders, not its own. And the fact that the Russians eliminated their fascist fifth column three or four years before the Nazi attack came is another most important element in the splendid morale and unity that they have displayed over the past twelve months.

Talking of leaders, I think it is about time that Americans gave due recognition to the qualities of Premier Joseph Stalin. For some fifteen years Stalin has been portrayed in this country as a savage, evil, bloody tyrant with scarcely one redeeming trait. Yet the verdict of history, in my opinion, will be that Joseph Stalin was one of the greatest statesmen of this era: realistic, wise, human, with a real sense of humor and possessing a profound intellectual grasp of fields as diverse as economics, military strategy, and philosophy. Stalin is also tough, tough in mind and body and moral stamina, tough as any leader must be these days who is going to win the fight against the most unscrupulous, hard-boiled, cruel aggregation of gangsters the world has ever seen. And I believe that most of the stories defaming Stalin's character are on the level of an anecdote told by Trotsky in his *Life* article. Here Trotsky uses as proof that Stalin is the most hideous monster in all history the fact that one day he was discovered playfully blowing smoke from his pipe into the face of his little son!

I HAVE indicated some of the necessary reevaluations that the American people should be making and *are* making in reference to Soviet Russia. There are other ones that I want to mention. If public opinion in this country was so terribly wrong about Soviet military strength, economic organization, morale, and the quality of leadership, then quite likely it was wrong, too, in its adverse judgments on Soviet foreign policy and Soviet democracy. And always we ought to remember that it is the *total picture* that counts—a total picture that takes into consideration the immensity of the Russian land, the size and racial variety of the 190,000,000 Soviet population, the complexity and difficulty of Soviet social and economic problems; a total picture, too, that looks not only at the present, but also at the backward past from which the USSR has evolved and the hopeful humanistic future toward which it ever strives.

We Americans might, in addition, reflect upon those ways in which these two great nations, the United States and the Soviet Union, are similar rather than always stressing the ways in which they differ. Both countries have in common a bigness of territory, a variety of climate and geographical conditions, a wealth of natural resources that give them a certain large-mindedness and feeling for the possibility of unending human progress. Both of our peoples have that pervasive spirit of friendliness that is the foundation stone of democracy. Both likewise are melting pots of many races and nationalities.

Though the dominant philosophy of the Soviet Union has no room for the old religious supernaturalism that still is so prevalent in America, it perhaps places even greater emphasis and reliance on modern scientific method and technology than do we in the United States. And far-reaching as are Soviet disagreements with traditional theology, on the ethical side Americans and Russians today share many of the same aims and ideals. For as peoples we both believe in building a society that serves the welfare of the entire nation as distinct from privileged minorities; and we both believe in an international idealism and brotherhood of man that set up the freedom and happiness of all humanity as the supreme ethical goal. We even both believe in similar *methods* in international affairs, since the Soviets have long upheld the principle of collective security, originated by President Woodrow Wilson, as the best means of ensuring world peace.

IT is clear, then, that the reevalution of Soviet Russia that I am suggesting (and I don't mean a whitewash picturing the USSR as a paradise) covers the whole of Soviet life and culture. Yet if we in the United States are to achieve that insight into Russia that is so needful to American-Soviet cooperation for winning both the war *and* the peace, such an all-inclusive reevaluation is imperative. The seeds of deep and lasting friendship between our two peoples, ever present and trying to push upward, have finally begun to flower. Let us both see to it that this flowering is given a permanent environment of warmth and solicitude and that the portentous pledges of closer collaboration arising from the recent Roosevelt-Molotov conferences are fully implemented by mutual understanding.

CORLISS LAMONT.

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WHAT ABOUT POSTWAR PLANNING?

The issues in light of the Second Front agreements. What the Wallace and Welles speeches mean. A. B. Magil warns against the "blueprints" that can harm national unity.

SOME weeks ago President Roosevelt asked for suggestions as to a name for this war. Not satisfied with those he received, he himself suggested "the survival war." The question is not so much what we call this war as what it's about, its meaning and goal. And this concerns not only the actual fighting of the war, but also the kind of world there will be after it's over.

For us Americans and for all the nations that are yet unconquered this is assuredly a war of survival. Not only in a physical sense, but in all that constitutes the independent American nation, fed by the democratic bloodstream that flows out of the heart of our history, the Revolution of 1776. To survive as a nation, with a body and soul of its own (in our case a capitalist nation, in Russia's a socialist nation), is the most fundamental, the most immediate and urgent meaning of this war, the common denominator that puts J. P. Morgan and twenty-five-dollar-a-week Tom Smith on the same side.

But because it is a common denominator, "the survival war" is necessarily a limited concept, expressing a single dimension of this epochal struggle. The fact is that there can be no effective survival without affirmative change, without accommodating oneself to new conditions and sloughing off old habits and practices that impair the ability to ward off the threats to our existence. In this war, for example, does preserving intact discrimination against Negroes and Jews, or the poll tax, or family incomes of $600 a year help us to survive or does it do the opposite? To change these things is to do something more than survive; it is to give the war a rich and creative meaning, to mold the conditions for a better world after the victory is won.

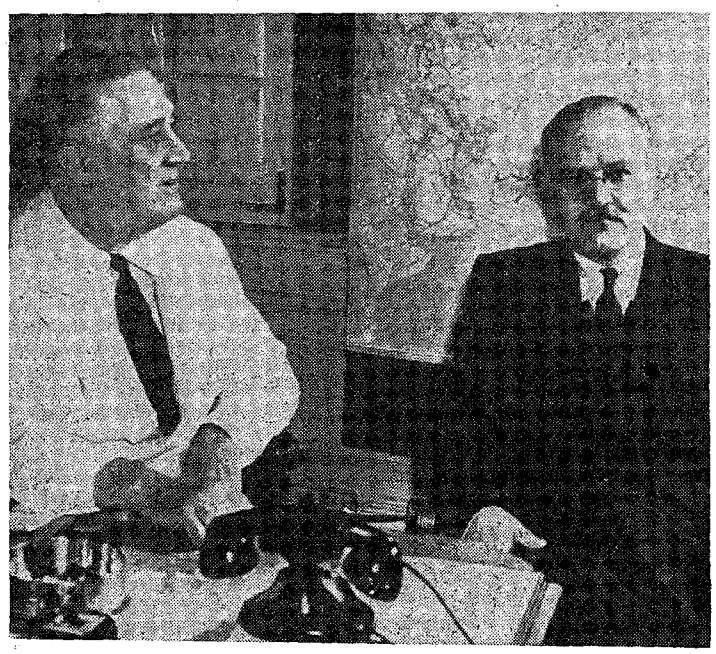
There are, of course, influential groups who, though supporting the war, conceive of it primarily in terms of the survival or even enlargement of their special privileges; and they want nothing to change even if this jeopardizes the nation's security and ultimately their own. Yet we cannot overlook the fact that millions in our own country and in every country have no desire to preserve *their* underprivileged status. Intuitively they sense a relationship between the evils within and the evils without and feel that the horrors the world is now going through must enable us to live not as before, but as men ought to live, free and secure and unafraid. For them this is not merely a fight to survive, but a war of liberation—liberation from poverty and injustice, from all that gave birth to fascism and violence and slaughter. It is this feeling that President Roosevelt has put into general terms in his Four Freedoms. It was this feeling that reverberated in the Memorial Day address of a conservative government spokesman, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. And it is this deeper meaning of our global struggle as a great liberating war, bringing a more spacious and happier life for the masses of mankind, that Vice-President Wallace expressed so eloquently in his recent speech before the Free World Association.

This address was remarkable because it approached the war with a historic breadth and humanistic vision unique among the utterances of the statesmen of the capitalist world. By projecting this war as a continuation of "the march of freedom of the past 150 years"—"the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German Revolution of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1918"—the Vice-President not only gave new emphasis to its progressive and democratic character, but deepened the conception of this war as both a *national* struggle for the preservation or restoration of each people's independent identity and as an ***international*** struggle of the free world against the slave world. He specifically disavowed the imperialist dreams of an "American Century," an American-dominated world, which Henry Luce and a few others have been advocating. "I say that the century on which we are entering—the century which will come into being after this war—can be and must be the century of the common man. . . . Older nations will have the privilege to help the younger nations get started on the path to industrialism, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism."

Three of the dates mentioned by the Vice-President are especially significant for understanding the direction of his thinking. He spoke of the French Revolution of 1792, whereas the usual date given is 1789. The year 1792 marked the beginning of the *democratic* phase of the French bourgeois revolution, when power passed into the hands of the little people, the shopkeepers, peasants and other petty-bourgeois masses led by the Jacobin Party. In our own country this phase had its parallel, though in a different form, in the struggle that began with Shays' Rebellion and the battle for the Bill of Rights, a struggle that culminated with the election of Jefferson. Jacobin rule, which aroused the violent hostility of the reactionaries throughout the world, has been maligned even by many liberal historians as an unfortunate aberration from the path of 1789. It is highly significant, therefore, that Vice-President Wallace singled out the Jacobin phase as the democratic core of the French Revolution.

Mr. Wallace's inclusion of the German Revolution of 1848—abortive though that revolution was—can be interpreted as a hint that he does not regard this war as aimed at the German people, that, on the contrary, he believes the German people have a role to play in the fight against those who have put the torch to every democratic value and polluted the culture of Goethe, Beethoven, and Heine. Yet it is clear that in achieving, with the military aid of the United Nations, their own liberation, the German people will have to avoid the errors and compromises that frustrated the 1848 revolution and in fact every democratic revolution in Germany.

Finally and most important was Mr. Wallace's recognition that the Russian Revolution constituted no detour, but was another great forward step in the people's march to freedom.



President Roosevelt and Foreign Commissar Molotov at the White House.

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Today it is no longer necessary to refute the lie that the Soviet regime is of a piece with those of Germany and Italy. For too many years did that lie serve the Nazis and harm not only Russia, but America and all democratic nations. Yet even today the prevalent attitude of the American press and of official circles is: of course, Russia isn't a democracy, but so long as Russians kill Nazis. . . . Vice-President Wallace has by implication challenged this attitude. He is the first leading figure in our government to assert that the Russian Revolution was a people's revolution and belongs with the great democratic struggles of the past 150 years. He is the first, in other words, to place contemporary Russia in its proper historic focus and to intimate that the Soviet way of life, while it may differ radically from the American or English way, stems, as they do, from man's ancient urge toward freedom and shares with them the grandeur of all the blood and sacrifice that lifted mankind out of medieval darkness. This approach is not only historically true, but contributes to strengthening cooperation both for war and peace among the United Nations.

THIS brings us to the whole subject of future relations among the anti-Axis coalition and postwar developments. There are those who are completely cynical on this subject; defeatist toward the war, they are also defeatist toward the peace. For instance, the New York *Daily News* in the leading editorial in its May 17 issue said:

"There may finally be some kind of Federation of the World, Parliament of Man, League of Nations, or whatever it may be called. But we think this will come to pass, not after the present war, but after several more big wars. After the present war, what is likely to be the political shape of things?

"It is at least possible that there will be a United States of North America, stretching from the Arctic to the Rio Grande if not farther south; and that this outfit will be the dominant western hemisphere power.

"In Asia, either Japan or China bids fair to emerge as the dominant nation—whose dominion may include India. At this time we'd say it was a neck-and-neck race between Chiang Kai-shek and Hirohito."

This is a vision of the postwar future cast in the image of the *Daily News'* own pro-fascist present. Note that this allegedly non-interventionist paper foresees an aggressively imperialist United States grabbing Canada and possibly Mexico and other Central American countries. Note too that the *Daily News,* which professes to be for all-out war against Japan, sees no difference between a Japanese or Chinese victory in Asia; nor does it find a Japanese victory—which is impossible without Hitler winning in Europe—incompatible with the independent existence of the United States.

Or consider the "postwar planning" of Westbrook Pegler. On June 1 he told us in his column that "When the war is over, the United States had better continue to exclude Asiatics except under very careful restrictions," and that, furthermore, "this is going to be a white man's country," though he graciously consented to permit the 13,000,000 Negroes to remain. Pegler also urged denying aliens the right to full citizenship and to hold office, citing Senator Wagner and Justice Frankfurter as examples of the bad effects of the present system. The appeasers and advocates of Hitler doctrine are, of course, too realistic to content themselves with mere speculation about the future; by what they do every day they are trying to assure that this fascist world of their dreams will come to pass.

There are, however, others who speculate about the postwar world in a different spirit. I am here thinking not of statements of general objectives such as are contained in President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms or the Wallace and Welles addresses or the speeches of Churchill and Stalin or the new mutual assistance pact between Britain and the USSR, but of a different kind of thing: the various detailed proposals for organizing and planning the economic and political arrangements of the postwar period. Particularly in certain sections of the middle class, among professional and white-collar groups, is there a good deal of interest and even preoccupation with such proposals. The best known of these blueprints is Clarence Streit's Union Now, but there are many others clamoring for attention, each insisting on its own peculiar virtues. It is not my purpose to argue for or against any particular proposal, but to argue against *all* attempts at this time to plot precise schemes for postwar organization and especially to argue against *preoccupation* with this subject. I know that many sincere anti-fascists will disagree. Behind their intense interest in the problems of the future are the most admirable motives: they share with the overwhelming majority of our people a deep desire to end for all time a state of affairs that plunges mankind into catastrophe every generation. Yet it is precisely from this point of view, from the standpoint of achieving a decent peace and a decent world, that their approach seems to me ineffective and even dangerous, actually or potentially.

The feeling of those who are most intent on working out a design for postwar living is that we made a mess of the peace last time and if it is not to happen again, we must at once start planning the world-wide economic and political relationships for the period after victory is won. All too few of the postwar planners seem to realize that the bad peace of last time sprang not from lack of planning, but from a bad war. As Walter Lippmann wrote in his column on January 22: "Elaborate 'postwar plans' had been drawn up and had been publicly proclaimed by President Wilson. But they did not count in the reality of things because the settlement could only by miracles of wisdom and courage have prevailed over the effects of what had been done or left undone during the war itself. If only we can realize that, we shall understand that in the conduct of this war, and not in separate blueprints, we shall be making the actual shape of things to come."

Lippmann, of course, is critical only of the conduct of the first world war. The fact is, however, that the war in its origins and basic character was imperialist and reactionary. This time, on the contrary, we have the inestimable advantage of fighting a war that is basically democratic and progressive, one, moreover, in which two non-imperialist countries, the Soviet Union and China, play an enormous role. But beyond that much remains to be done; if we want a peace that is as good as possible, we must make this war as good as possible, a people's war in every sense. And above all, we cannot, as all too many of the postwar planners do, take the winning of the war for granted, an assumption which as yet is unwarranted.

THE first condition for a just peace is victory for the United Nations. With this as fundamental, let us ask whether the attempt to blueprint the postwar world helps or hinders the war effort. Those who believe that it helps say that statements of general objectives are not enough, that the people require specific plans and programs to assure them that promises concerning the future will be fulfilled. But is it actually possible to solve in advance problems whose precise nature we do not as yet know? And is it possible to get immediate agreement concerning the details of a postwar program among all sections of our population and among all the United Nations?

The new Soviet-British mutual assistance pact, which bears such great hope both for the war and for the postwar period, is evidence that neither of these is possible. Article III, Section I states: "The high contracting parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the postwar period." But the treaty makes no attempt to define what these proposals should be. Article IV even considers the possibility that specific proposals to preserve peace may fail of adoption after the war, in which event the pledge of mutual aid against aggression will remain in force for twenty years. As the New York *Herald Tribune* put it editorially: ". . . the principles for ultimate settlement laid down in the treaty admirably suit the practical requirements of the problem. They do not men-

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The President and Prime Minister Churchill aboard the USS Augusta where they formulated the Atlantic Charter.

tion details which will be and can only be determined by the conditions when the war ends."

The fact is there is much to be said for the viewpoint that the kind of activity represented by projects for a future world order is or can be harmful to the immediate war effort. Everyone agrees that to win the war we need a maximum of unity. In large measure this unity was achieved after Pearl Harbor: conservatives, liberals, radicals, whatever differences there may be among them on other questions, and despite the frictions that may develop in the course of their collaboration, are on the whole pulling together for total defeat of the Axis. One of the questions on which there are differences, and very considerable differences, is the exact contours of the peace and of the world that will emerge from the peace. To place undue emphasis now on a particular plan or on the whole subject of postwar planning is to introduce into our united war effort a question on which there is maximum disunity. And for some the preoccupation with the postwar period may even become a means of evading the difficult problems of winning the war.

Let me illustrate the dangers of attempting to run too far ahead of history. I purposely choose this example from the work of a man whom I have already cited in opposition to blueprinting the future, Walter Lippmann, in order to underline the point. Lippmann is one of the most intelligent and clear-headed of our conservative thinkers, who has often shown an ability to transcend narrow class considerations in the interest of winning the war. In regard to the meaning and purpose of the war he wrote on April 23: "We have come to the phase where, if we have the wisdom and imagination to realize our position, we shall cease to talk of this struggle as a war of survival and will proclaim our war to be, throughout the world, in Europe and Asia, a war of liberation."

This is a statement of general principles which everybody can accept. But on May 5 Lippmann decided to take a trip into the future. For him the vassal regimes of Hungary and Rumania are not predatory fascist despotisms to be smashed together with their Nazi masters. On the contrary, pointing out that both regimes "have insisted on keeping an army at home," he applauds this as "a shrewd precaution against the time when the Nazi military power breaks up and anarchy is threatened along the German lines of communication to the East." And these Hungarian and Rumanian fascists are the ones who will "liberate their countries from the Nazi captivity." As for Italy, "when the time comes to remove Mussolini and his henchmen, the King and the House of Savoy, the army, the Vatican will remain to make negotiations possible."

In other words, for Lippmann European liberation appears to consist of keeping some of the fascists in power and replacing others with more of their kind. Whereupon Michael Straight gave him a well-deserved verbal lashing in the *New Republic.* And shortly after, the United States declaration of war on Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria made Lippmann's proposals so obsolete that he himself on June 9 practically repudiated his previous position. My main point is not that Lippmann's ideas on the peace were bad—they were that, of course—but that any thinking of this kind divides those united for victory.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE: the postwar plan whose first instalment is presented in the May issue of *Fortune.* This plan, pompously entitled "An American Proposal," is based, the editors tell us, on three major assumptions, one of which is: "That America will emerge as the strongest single power in the postwar world, and that it is therefore up to America to decide what kind of postwar world it wants." To call this presumptuous is a great understatement. It really deserves the Pulitzer prize for gall. How will the 45,000,000 Englishmen, the 200,000,000 Russians, the 400,000,000 Chinese and the millions more of other nations, who are making sacrifices at least equal to those of Henry Luce's calculating young men, feel about being told that the United States is going to be top-dog when this war is over and everybody else will have to take orders and like it? And will the American people be consulted or will they also have the privilege of lumping it?

I happen to be a believer in socialism. But if all who favored socialism as the ultimate solution got together and adopted a plan for introducing a socialist world order when the war is over and began urging our government to start preparations for this change, we, like the editors of *Fortune,* would be contributing to disunity and to that extent would be weakening the battle for victory without which no decent peace is possible. And isn't this just what the Nazis and Japanese would love: to have the Walter Lippmanns and the Michael Straights and the *Fortune* editors and the believers in socialism, who in the main see eye to eye on the war itself, get wrangling over what will happen if and when the war is won? If they could only get the whole American people and the peoples of other countries arguing about the future, the fascist gangsters would have no trouble running away with the present. Then all the postwar planning would be done by a gentleman named Adolph Hitler.

A. B. MAGIL.

In a concluding article Mr. Magil will suggest positive ways of approaching the problem of a better postwar world.

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MY SON

"I embraced him, kissed him, and never saw him again." A Soviet mother's story of her heroic son.

Moscow (by cable)

MY SHURA (diminutive for Alexander) was born March 17, 1925, in the village Peskovatskoye, Cherepovets District. Were he alive, he would be seventeen. A calm, healthy, robust child, he never gave me any trouble. Nothing but joy. I barely noticed how he grew up. My husband was an ardent hunter. Shura accompanied his father to the woods and learned to handle firearms at a very early age. We thought it best not to interfere. He was a mischievous, hot-headed boy, but never had a bad word for anybody. On the contrary, he always was helpful and handy around the house.

He had a remarkable power of concentration and when absorbed in some work couldn't think of anything else. Once he started on a job he would persist in finishing it. We all knew that when Shura had said something, he would never go back on his word. In the family we nicknamed him "Hero"—jestingly, of course, for he grew very fast, very tall for his age, broad-shouldered, well-built. "What a fine boy this son of yours is," people would tell me. "Nothing out of the ordinary," I would protest with a smile. But inwardly I thought "that's true" and I was really proud of my boy. He was an excellent student, with a quick mind and splendid memory. Now that spring has come, my heart shrinks within me when I remember the lively noise in our house as the boys came to Shura to do their homework. Shura would explain and help just like a grownup. He was very friendly with his younger brother, Victor. They shared a room. Shura was an avid reader with a leaning for books on popular science and technology and he subscribed to magazines. He was fond of Tolstoy and Gorky.

WAR came and Shura was possessed by one idea—to come to grips with the Germans. "Mother," he said, "this will be a hard war. But never mind. Father and I will be off to the fray before long." I knew that there was no stopping him and surely I wasn't going to prevent his going. I was never a coward and taught my children to scorn danger. For six years I worked as chairman of the village Soviet and many a time I had to defend villagers from the kulak attacks. Some of them hated me and threatened revenge. But I never give up when I know that truth is on my side. Nevertheless, a mother's heart suffers.

As soon as recruiting started for the guerrilla detachment, Shura volunteered. He was turned down as too young. Then the People's Guard was formed, and one day I saw my Shura marching side by side with the bearded men. He finally convinced the commanders to enroll him in the guerrilla detachment. I remember his expeditions to the woods to hunt down diversionists. He would be gone three, four, five days. When all hope seemed gone, I would suddenly hear singing in the distance and then horses galloping. The boys were all young and cheerful. Recently I couldn't restrain the tears when I heard the Red Army song and dance ensemble. Why these were the very songs Shura and his comrades sang. He never mentioned a word about his work—he knew how to guard a secret. And when he was to leave on an expedition he would usually say in a matter of fact way: "Mother, get me something to eat, I've got to leave." I never asked, and to other people's questions I replied that he was off for military training.

The Germans were coming nearer and nearer to Likhvin, where we lived. Once Shura came home in a very thoughtful mood. "Mother," he said, "get together more stuff. I probably will leave for the whole winter." My heart sank. I gathered his linens, warm clothing, and felt boots. He left with his father and I remained alone with Victor. Of course, Victor too would gladly have gone, but who would take a thirteen-year-old?

Five days later evacuation began. I went to the District Committee, asking them to summon my son. My son—he was my hope, my joy, my pride. And I longed for the happiness of seeing him at least once more. He came. "Why did you ask for me, Mother?" he asked grimly. "Do you realize you are taking me away from my work?" "Shura," I pleaded, "don't you want to say goodbye to me?" "I do, Mother," he said, looking at me. "Only I don't want you to cry. You are wise and brave. Give me a cheerful send-off." We parted. "Go, my son," I said, "defend the country with all your strength. Only be careful, for you are not yet well trained." "Why, Mother, I am a better shot than the grown-ups."

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I embraced my son, kissed him, and never saw him again. I decided not to go too far and taking Victor, moved to a place forty-five kilometers from Likhvin. I spread the story that I was working in the mines, but actually I was maintaining contact with the partisan detachment. I helped them the best I could, did laundry for them, procured food supplies, and information. On a visit my husband told me what a fine partisan scout our son was. The only radio mechanic in the detachment, he set up a wireless. The commander had nothing but praise for him. Later, too, I heard rumors about Shura—the youngest partisan in the detachment. There were stories about how he attacked ten Germans, killed six with a hand grenade, shot three, and then escaped.

WEEKS passed and no news from either husband or son. I grew restless; all sorts of thoughts crept into my head. Finally I could stand it no longer and decided to try to find out what happened to the detachment. Victor went with me. We entered the village where my mother-in-law lived. She told me that both my husband and son were captured. Shura, she said, came to our old home at Peskovatskoye to spend the night. That night twelve German soldiers surrounded the house. He had three hand grenades but they failed to explode. He was caught and led away. I knew at once.

He was betrayed by the same scoundrels who once threatened me. In the morning the village elder came to my mother-in-law's house and said with a malignant smile, "Come on, Chekalina, save your son." I at once guessed what he meant by "saving," but there was nothing to do and I had to obey. He led me to the headquarters, Victor running after us. I entered. There was the traitor, Shutenkov from Likhvin. "There you have at least one woman Communist from Likhvin. The rest, it seems, fled." "No," I said, "we Communists don't hide but do what we are supposed to do." His face grew dark. "So that's the kind you are. You probably are unacquainted with our law that all Communists are to be exterminated." I was so angry I was barely able to breathe. My eye fell on a heavy inkwell on the desk. The thought flashed through my mind. "Suppose I grab it and throw it at this accursed dog." Strangely there was no fear, I felt so much at ease. Then I recalled Victor. "All right," I cried, "kill me! Exterminate everything to the root. You killed my husband, my beloved son. Kill me and my younger son too. I will bring him here myself!" There must have been desperation in my voice. They believed me. "All right, bring your son," said the elder. I left the headquarters. At an opportune moment I took my son and then as I saw the German infantry marching through the street, I crossed to the other side and disappeared. That's how I saved my younger son.

IN THE neighboring village I heard a story about Shura. People were whispering the story from mouth to mouth and admired the firmness of this sixteen-year-old boy. Shura was brought for questioning. The German commandant began to question him and utter profanities about the Bolsheviks and the partisans. Unable to control his anger, Shura caught an inkwell and hit the commandant on the nose. My son was sentenced to a terrible death. Although I wasn't with him in those last moments, I lived them hundreds of times.

I can picture how when wounded he dragged himself to his native Peskovatskoye, how he lay there alone at night, in the house where his father and mother used to tell him fairy tales. I remember how he liked stories about explorers who discovered new countries, about Victor's men who never surrendered. And he didn't surrender. When he was led to the execution, the fascist scum bayoneted his feet—his felt boots were filled with blood. But he walked firmly—he decided to die like a man. People saw how he looked squarely in the face of his executioners. They ordered him to scribble on a wooden board: "Such an end awaits all partisans." Taking the pencil he wrote in big letters: "We will wipe the fascist reptile off the face of the earth" and threw the board in the crowd standing around. And when he was led to the gallows, he cried out, "You reptiles, you can't hang all of us. There are many of us." Whereupon the noose slipped around his neck.

Shura began singing the Internationale. With the noose tightening, he sang of the final battle. Together with Victor I walked from village to village as if stunned. I heard nothing but pain, Everything seemed so dark, so many horrors encountered on the way, so many people shot, burned, hanged by the Germans. Everywhere I seemed to see Shura tortured. As I walked I bandaged the wounded and gave them Shura's shirt and all the things I prepared for him. A wounded lieutenant told us how to cross the front line. My heart filled with warmth as I saw the Red Army men. We remained with the unit and I began to work as a nurse. When our district was liberated I received a letter from my husband who wrote that he had succeeded in escaping from the Germans. Shura's body was found under the snow near the gallows and buried on the square. This square is now called Alexander Chekalin Square and the village Peskovatskoye is now renamed for my son, Shura Chekalin.

NADEZHDA CHEKALINA.

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The Conquest of Illusions

Why Quentin Reynolds wrote: "They're our kind of people." The new books on Soviet Russia rout the literary counterfeiters. The process of intellectual discovery.

You can't fool all of the people all of the time, and even if you do hoodwink some of them for a while you'd better get good and ready for the kickback. We Americans don't like to be played for suckers. Sometimes we are taken in by a medicine man with a gift of gab. But God help him if he stays in the neighborhood beyond sundown. In the end we're all from Missouri, and we take our hats off to the man who will show us the facts.

That's the spirit in which American readers have reacted to books about the Soviet Union for the past year. Not since June 22 last has it been possible for literary counterfeiters like Jan Valtin, Eugene Lyons, or Max Eastman to cash in on their frauds. A lot of honest folks are thoroughly ashamed of themselves for having been vulnerable to lies that, as they can now see, would make a three-year-old squirm with skepticism. And today, making up for time misspent, you see them reading sincere, competent, firsthand reports in books by former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, *Collier's* correspondent Quentin Reynolds, Reuter's reporter Alexander Werth, Anna Louise Strong, Erskine Caldwell, and others.

The changed attitude of publishers themselves is reflected in an article written for *Publishers Weekly* by Bennett A. Cerf, president of Random House and the Modern Library. Mr. Cerf advises publishers and booksellers that it is their patriotic duty to "check backlists carefully." "The fortunes of war," he goes on, "have brought into being alliances that looked incredible only a short time ago, and have proved that some of our most deeply cherished theories were utterly false. Our old conceptions of the Russian purges and trials, for instance, and the Russo-Finnish War, evidently were mistaken, and books that encouraged those beliefs should be taken off sale immediately. Russia is a friend in need to us today. People who dangle the menace of Russian Communism constantly before us are increasing our chances of losing the war." These are common-sense words, and it is gratifying that, by and large, though by no means uniformly, publishers have been moving in the direction indicated by Mr. Cerf.

The main test to be applied to books about the Soviet Union is the degree to which they help cement American-Soviet friendship. That friendship, and with it the development of closer ties among all the United Nations, is the key to a swift victory, the key to a just and permanent peace. Friendship is based on understanding, and understanding in turn on a knowledge of the facts. Ours is the strategy of truth. "The longer I stayed in Russia," writes Quentin Reynolds in *Only the Stars Are Neutral,* "the more I realized the terrific misconceptions we in America and Britain hold in regard to the Soviet Union." Getting rid of these misconceptions is the mission of our books.

That, in effect, was Joseph E. Davies' "mission" to Moscow, and it is good to note the increasing influence of his book, of which more than 100,000 copies have so far been printed. This compilation of personal letters, diary entries, and confidential messages to the President and the State Department is a historical document of the first importance. One may differ with some of its specific judgments, but this work, in its sincerity, realism, and sympathetic understanding, is a prophetic plea for that American-Soviet friendship which has just been sealed in the Roosevelt-Molotov conversations. This official source book finds support in a group of works by experienced correspondents like Alexander Werth (*Moscow War Diary*), Anna Louise Strong (*The Soviets Expected It*), Erskine Caldwell (*All-Out on the Road to Smolensk*), Ralph Ingersoll (*Action on All Fronts*), and Quentin Reynolds. In a third group of works published this past year we find a direct expression of the Soviet spirit: the statesmen Lenin and Stalin, the historian Tarle, the novelists Sholokhov and Kaverin, the soldier-war correspondent Alexander Poliakov, the popularizers of science Ilin and Segal. A fourth group of books includes an authoritative discussion of the Red Army by Sergei N. Kournakoff, a former officer of the Russian Imperial Army, now living in America; a discussion of various phases of Soviet life by Charles S. Seely (*Russia and the Battle of Liberation*), Lieutenant-Commander, US Navy, Retired; and an account of Soviet industry beyond the Urals by a British specialist, Maurice Edelman (*How Russia Prepared*).

In the conclusions reached by various observers there is a striking correspondence. For example, there is a strong reaction against the stupid myth that the Russian people have a mysterious and untranslatable soul. Alexander Werth, who spent his boyhood in Russia and is now a British subject, gives Walter Duranty a proper raking over the coals for his "mystical-mysterious-incalculable-Slav-gibberish." Miss Strong, who has of course pointed out the truth for years, finds a kinship between her own frontier antecedents and the Russians, and she calls her first chapter—it must have killed her to have to stress the obvious—"Russians Are People." Quentin Reynolds, a Catholic from Brooklyn, exclaims: "They're our kind of people." Place them in our Midwest for a couple of weeks, he says, and you'll have a tough time singling them out. So once and for all, let us hope, the illusion that every Russian is a Dostoevsky soul-in-agony has been buried six feet deep.

Or take the myth that there is no freedom of worship in the Soviet Union. Quentin Reynolds is a good case in point here, because as an outstanding lay Catholic figure in this country he was especially interested in this problem. Here, in brief, are his conclusions: "In the czarist days the priests had a wonderful racket in Russia. They were paid by the State and collections taken up in churches went to the State. All Stalin did was to separate the church from the State. The church should be an independent organization divorced from the State. In short, he did the same thing we did in our country back in 1776. . . . Had any of us ever troubled to read the Soviet Constitution (as vigorously upheld as our own) we might have got the true picture of religion in the Soviet Union. . . . I talked with Father Braun [the Jesuit priest who said mass every day in his Moscow church. SS]. I mentally apologized as a Catholic for the things I've thought about Russia's attitude toward religion." Is any comment required on this simple and earnest report?

This reconstruction of attitudes, based on direct observation, is particularly striking with respect to Joseph Stalin. Ambassador Davies' description is by now well known. "His demeanor," writes Mr. Davies, "is kindly, his manner almost deprecatingly simple, his personality and expression of reserve strength and poise very marked." As press representative of the Harriman-Beaverbrook mission, Reynolds had an opportunity to see Stalin at a Kremlin dinner. He reports that "Those of us who were seeing him for the first time were stricken dumb." For his appearance contradicted everything that Reynolds and the others had been led to believe. Ralph Ingersoll, who interviewed Stalin, notes "his extraordinary and intimate knowledge of the most minute details of everything that goes on in his capital, on his battlefront, in the Soviet Union—and all over the world." Like Cripps, Hopkins, Harriman, and Beaverbrook, writes Ingersoll, "I found I was enormously impressed by the man. I was impressed by the straightforwardness of his answers, by the thoroughness with which he knew his own mind and the rapidity and intelligence and perception with which he expressed it."

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The correspondents, most of them unsympathetic to socialism, and some of them retaining very definite misconceptions with regard to it, are uniformly impressed by the free position of women in Soviet life, by the conspicuous absence of any trace of racial discrimination, by the high place of cultural and scientific enterprise, by the fact that it is impossible to think of the people apart from their leaders, by the industrial achievement, the sense of confidence, of decision, of self-sacrifice in behalf of the country's interests. And they agree, with Davies, that "No government saw more clearly or stated with greater accuracy what Hitler was doing and would do and what ought to be done to preserve peace and prevent the projection of a war by Hitler than did the Soviets"; or, with Werth, that "If our statesmen had had any vision, any foresight, they could have averted the war by grasping firmly Russia's hand"; with Reynolds, that those who waved flags for "brave little Finland" must now see how "completely justified" was the Soviet action in removing Mannerheim's frontier from its eighteen-mile proximity to Leningrad. Similarly there is striking agreement that, as one correspondent puts it, purge means "cleanse," and the Soviet purges cleansed the country of fifth columnists.

With an invigorating sense of discovery, American and British reporters are confirming the main conclusions of such classic studies of the Soviet Union as *The Soviet Power* by the Dean of Canterbury and *Soviet Communism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Fortunately, we now have two excellent books on the Red Army, both published within the past week: Captain Kournakoff's *Russia's Fighting Forces* and Alexander Poliakov's *Russians Don't Surrender*. These books complement each other amazingly well. Kournakoff analyzes the history, composition, and methods of the Red Army, placing Voroshilov and Timoshenko in the great military tradition of Nevsky, Suvorov, Kutuzov. An outstanding military expert who, as he says, "paid dearly with defeat and exile for a knowledge of the fighting qualities of the Red Army" during the civil war in Russia, Kournakoff avoids unnecessary technicalities at the same time that he gives an authoritative analysis based on intimate research. His book, soon to be reviewed in these pages, is really a major event of the publishing season, and I am sure that it will be widely discussed and appreciated. A more personal study of the Red Army is to be found in the Poliakov volume. The brilliant reporting of this thirty-four-year-old frontline soldier is already familiar to NEW MASSES readers, who will remember his series of articles on the making, manning, and operation of a Soviet tank. In *Russians Don't Surrender* he reports, in exciting diary form, the adventure of a Red Army contingent fighting its way back from behind the enemy lines. No other book gives so striking a picture of what combat troops think and how they fight against the Nazi hordes. This is a work of art created in bloody jaws of battle, a wonder-

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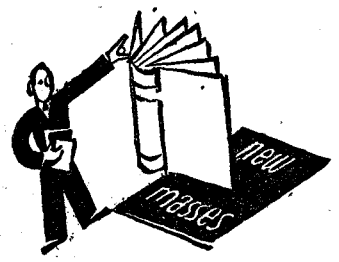

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fully effective example of how the Soviet writer and the Soviet soldier become one. This volume will be reviewed here soon.

I look forward to the publication of more books like Poliakov's because I think it is important that we in this country get the actual pulse beat of Soviet life through Soviet works themselves. For example, Sholokhov's novel, *The Silent Don,* which has just become available in a one-volume edition, has succeeded more than any single book, I feel, in enriching our understanding of the Soviet approach to human beings and their historical destinies. Less important artistically, a novel like Benjamin Kaverin's *Two Captains* nevertheless gives a valuable picture of the ideals which sustain Soviet youth today; it is infused with a zest for life and boundless confidence. Ilin and Segal's *How Man Became a Giant* projects an inspiring humanistic vision of mankind's development out of the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom. Tarle's *Napoleon's Invasion of Russia, 1812,* read together with Tolstoy's *War and Peace,* is an instructive study of an earlier patriotic war. Tarle's book affords an insight into the methods and aims of Soviet historiography.

The ultimate intellectual sources of these Soviet books, the ideas which have guided the Soviet achievement and fortified the people, are to be found in the Marxist classics, and it is fortunate that two major works by Lenin and Stalin have recently been made available in convenient editions. Volume XIX of Lenin's *Collected Works* includes his famous *Imperialism,* as well as other timely and important analyses of the background and character of modern wars. Of particular interest is his definition of the difference between just and unjust wars and the circumstances under which both types of war may occur in the modern epoch. Stalin's *Marxism and the National Question,* now presented with certain additions in a popular-priced version, is a key to many of the central problems troubling the world. The position of the colonial peoples, the composition of nations, the relation between nationalism and internationalism—these are life and death questions today, and everything we cherish depends on their sound solution. I believe it is high time that all Americans read this classic exposition by a leader of the United Nations. New readers will find in it those qualities of realism, simplicity, and cogency that Beaverbrook and Hopkins found in conversation with Stalin.

This is a tall reading list, and these are busy days. But these books are weapons in our fight for freedom. All of us today are engaged in a process of intellectual discovery. It need hardly be argued that the conquest of past illusions is an integral part of our triumph over Hitlerism. There's a lot to be learned as we get ready for our monumental job of building the century of the common man. And by reflecting with sincerity and reasonable accuracy the life of our great Soviet ally, all these books help to cement that understanding, that friendship, which must be the cornerstone of the century.

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